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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzed how political foundations, economic matters, and social problems of the United States are portrayed in selected English-language textbooks of East and West German publishers. For West Germany the research was based on nine leading stage-adopted textbooks at the upper level. The East Germans allow only one series of English-language textbooks to be used. This series was examined in the study. Discrepancies rather than similarities emerged in the comparison of East and West German textbooks. With references to the West German presentations, the book contents showed a high degree of differentiation in the selections and a critical but unbiased treatment of single aspects. East German contributions, on the contrary, consistently utilized the principle of partiality and bias so as to denounce so-called United States imperalism and to manifest Marxist-Leninist superiority. The western materials portrayed a well-balanced picture of the United States; the standardized East German textbooks divided the American society into a greedy capitalist minority opposing the exploited working class. West German publishers presented graded features of the country, its political foundations, economic problems, and social issues by a myriad of various American self-expressions. East German bookwriters confined their sources to a very few leftists who condemned the established misanthropic bourgeois system. Western schoolbook authors endeavored to portray their image of the United States more objectively through controversial contributions while East German books delineated a decadent ruling class so as to reinforce the call for revolution and takeover by the proletarians. (Author/RM)

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A COMPARISON OF THE IMAGE OF THE U.S.A. AS PORTRAYED IN SELECTED ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS BY EAST AND WEST GERMAN PUBLISHERS

by

Hans Joachim Borsdorf

SP 012 860

Committee:

John L. Cropp, Ed.D.
Dissertation Advisor

James W. Batten, Ed.D.

Epp A. Miller, Ph.D.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education
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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following Orals Committee of the Faculty of the School of Education of The University of Sarasota.

Committee Chairman John Cragg

Committee Members Egg A. Miller

J. W. Britton

8/3/78
Date of Acceptance by Committee

ABSTRACT

The direction of this dissertation was to compare English language textbooks used by East and West German students living in a divided country under different political, social and cultural conditions so as to analyze the image of the United States of America portrayed by the respective publishers. Quotations from East and West German language curricula indicated that this image was presented differently to German students in instructional materials at the higher level of the Gymnasium, i.e., the selective academic secondary school. On this basis, the statement of the problem evolved: to identify the criteria applied to the illustrations of life in the United States through a comparative analysis of topics in selected English language textbooks.

Methodologically, the main task was divided into four subproblems as follows: First, to identify and categorize the situations used in typical textbooks. For this purpose, the collected data were allocated to the areas of political foundations, economic matters and social problems. Second, two sets of criteria for situations and content analysis were developed. Third, these criteria were utilized to ascertain the nature of the portraits of life in the United States. Fourth, similarities and differences in the portraits were to be identified.

The related literature in this field of content analysis was investigated next in both the United States and West Berlin. In addition, an exhaustive review of recent and related titles by East German authors was conducted. Research had, to the knowledge of the writer, evolved no literature that could be related to the topic of this study.

Educational material which was meant to be provided to students of public schools required state adoption. East Germany admitted only one series of English language textbooks for use at the communist unified school. A homogeneous treatment of book contents was mandatory. In contrast, the state guidelines effective for the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin/West did not restrict publishers, teachers and students concerning topics or methods of discussion. The western contributions in this study could be regarded as representative of a typical West German Gymnasium.

Discrepancies rather than similarities emerged in the comparison of East and West German textbooks. With reference to the West German presentations, the book contents showed a high degree of differentiation in the selections and a critical but unbiased treatment of single aspects. East German contributions, on the contrary, consistently utilized the principle of partiality and bias so as to denounce so-called United States imperialism and to manifest Marxist-Leninist superiority. The western materials portrayed a well-balanced picture of the United States; the standardized East German textbooks divided the American society into a greedy capitalist minority opposing the exploited working class. West German

publishers presented graded features of the country, its political foundations, economic problems and social issues by a myriad of various American self-expressions. East German bookwriters confined their sources to a very few leftists who condemned the established misanthropic bourgeois system. Western schoolbook authors endeavored to portray their image of the United States more objectively through controversial contributions while East German books delineated a decadent ruling class so as to reinforce the call for revolution and takeover by the proletarians.

An adequate, unbiased terminology and photographic material were utilized in the western texts. Eastern books, on the contrary, continually used set phrases and trite clichés with highly emotional undertones of prejudice and hatred. West German books presented a great variety of topics and provided the students with accurate statistical data; East German publishers only selected aspects which were detrimental to the image of the United States. They preferred allegations and percentages to documentary evidence.

In conclusion, East and West German schoolbook publishers portrayed the function of political foundations, economic matters and social theories in the United States differently according to the contrasting ends in the two educational concepts. West German publishers tried to enable the students to draw their own conclusions. East German students were required to accept an unrealistic portrait of the United States based exclusively on prejudiced socialist clichés. Due to the paramount position of the textbooks during the learning

process the final conclusions, among others in this dissertation, emphasized the need for exerting a greater influence on East German authorities to readjust the all-negative image of the United States of America in communist English language schoolbooks.

For primary sources, the only authorized series of eight English language textbooks and teacher's manuals from East Germany at level three to seven was used. For West Germany, the research was based on nine leading state adopted textbooks at the upper level.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Background of the Study

Quotations from the West and East German language curricula outline the country's dilemma in general.[1] The following two excerpts were taken from the West Berlin curriculum for the Gymnasium (plural: Gymnasien; i.e., academic secondary school):[2]

> Consequently, the teaching of modern languages at school will develop two priority tasks: First of all, the student is to be enabled to practice oral and written communication with the inhabitants of the other countries; in addition to it, foreign language training provides opportunities to examine the culture and civilization of the respective people.... By reading literary works he gets to know and learns to understand the cultural and political development of the other people.... The acquisition of both language proficiency and attached insights into cultural achievements of the other people, develops an understanding for the links between different nations and respect for their way of life.[3]

With regard to teaching materials the learning process

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[1]All translations into English furnished by the writer. For original versions see Appendix B: Collected German Documents.

[2]In the following this dissertation will refer to the original German names for different types of schools. A translation into English will follow in parentheses.

[3]Herausgegeben vom Senator für Schulwesen, Berlin/West, Rahmenpläne für Unterricht und Erziehung in der Berliner Schule. Gymnasium. Erganzungslieferung Nr. 1. AV 8/9/10 Berlin/West: Verlag GmbH, 1969 , p. 1.

is to be conducted well-balanced and critically. "Dubious is any unrealistic idealization of the U.S.A. as well as any biased, generalizing overestimation of single social conflicts and problems...."[1]

This is a quotation from the official interpretation of the East German language curriculum:

> The principal goal of teaching English ... aims first of all at increasing the students' knowledge about the fact that imperialism represents a misanthropic system; under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties the working class is taking the lead in the battle for a happier future for all men; active solidarity expresses the world-wide fight against the common enemy .... In the English language instructions the students win insight into progressive traditions of the ... American people by presenting actual examples to them. In this connection, they realize that it is the fight for peace and social progress which links our people with the working class and other progressive people ... of the U.S.A.[2]
>
> Foreign language instruction has to contribute to the pupils' education toward socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism .... It involves the strengthening of the conviction that global development is determined by socialism (Neuner, pp. 383-384).
>
> The principle of partiality is to be regarded continually. Bias with regard to the goals set, with substantiating and evaluating phenomena, events, inventions, discoveries, processes, etc.... Partisanship - this is one of the noblest attitudes of a man if a just issue is concerned. Partiality calls for a personality's full engagement for the matter of socialism against imperialism (Neuner, pp. 130-131).

The discrepancies involved in the educational goals of

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[1]Der Senator für Schulwesen, Berlin/West, Neugestaltung der gymnasialen Oberstufe. Vorläufiges Grundprogramm für das Fach Englisch (Berlin/West: Landesverwaltungsamt Berlin, 1973), p. 34.

[2]Autorenkollektiv unter der Leitung von Gerhart Neuner, Allgemeinbildung Lehrplanwerk Unterricht (2. Auflage; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1973), pp. 384-385.

the two German states, as they have developed in post-war times, are obvious. The difference in the two parts of the divided country strongly mirrors the divergent directions in which the parts of one nation have been heading.

A brief survey of the present situation in the country's former capital, Berlin, shall provide an adequate background of information for a better understanding and interpretation of the image analysis.

The eleven states, including West Berlin, that compose the Federal Republic of Germany, (hereafter also called West Germany) are autonomous in terms of education. Under the constitution, the essential responsibility for education lies with these states. German federalism in educational matters is responsible for the fact that there are no uniform textbooks in the schools of the Federal Republic. There is, however, a very high degree of nation-wide conformity in regard to academic standards, schooltypes, grading, selection of instructional materials, and the like, achieved by The Permanent Conference of the Ministers for Education and Science for the eleven states (KMK = Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder). Teachers' salaries are among the highest in Europe. The budget is federal and evenly distributed throughout the country. The assignment of students to the different schooltypes is primarily selective; i.e., it is being based on academic aptitude. In West Berlin, the Gymnasium, an academic secondary school, was attended by approximately thirty-one per cent of the youths between ten and nineteen/twenty years of age in 1977. The rest either goes to Hauptschule (main school,

twenty-one per cent), Realschule (semi-academic secondary school, twenty-three per cent) or Gesamtschule (comprehensive school, twenty-five per cent), either one providing additionally pre-vocational training programs.[1] Compulsory education ends at the age of eighteen years. Tuition is free.

The educational system of East Germany (officially called German Democratic Republic) is centrally operated and selective also in terms of grouping the school population according to academic abilities and individual talents at the upper level (grades eleven to twelve).

As a native German speaker, resident of the divided city, and as a teacher of English at a West Berlin Gymnasium, the writer is continually confronted with the situation beyond the Wall. Visits to the Eastern parts of the country have provided additional information and increased the writer's personal motivation for this study. As Head of the Modern Language Department of "Gymnasium Steglitz" and as an examiner of English instructional materials for students, the writer has a vital interest and a personal need to survey the respective publications in this area.

The fact that the writer has had personal teaching experiences in the United States as a former Fulbright grantee has facilitated the evaluation process of this thesis. Lasting contacts with American colleagues, reinforced by several visits since 1963, have ensured continuous information.

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[1] All data effective in West Berlin in October 1977, according to Der Senator für Schulwesen in Berlin.

Need for the Study

The need for the study was both subjective and objective. Subjectively, it is necessary for any teacher to keep himself informed in his particular field during every phase of his professional career. Moreover, as a language instructor living and teaching in a divided city with clashing political and social systems, one is challenged to benefit from the educational programs operated in the West and in the East. The fact that American high schools had been established in West Berlin added another stimulus for the curious teacher. Thus a variety of educational institutions with widely differing ends were near at hand and - with certain restrictions to East/Berlin/East Germany - were freely accessible. Sources of first-hand theoretical information and practical experience for anybody interested in this field were thus available.

Objectively, the study was needed for more than one momentous reason. It was for the first time in the country's history that entirely different school systems had been established for a nation that is ethnically indivisible and that does not want to be divided. A comparative analysis of significant areas of English language instructional materials had, to the knowledge of the writer, never before been undertaken. The findings of such an analysis might be useful to anybody in the West and in the East who is concerned with teaching English as a foreign language: The teacher in the West could be stimulated to study and probably include topics or directions of interpretations he normally would not have considered; for the instructor in the Eastern part of the

country the study might be one of the few unbiased sources that might be accessible to him. Uncontrolled background information which so far was mostly unavailable to scholars and students alike would certainly be of outstanding significance in so far as it might raise the standard of information. Through a larger number of well-informed English language teachers, more topical, and, above all, more reliable information and data could be conveyed to the students. This, in turn, would not only be personally beneficial for the individual, but in the long run it would surely contribute to portray a more realistic and, in East Germany, less tendentious profile of the United States of America.

The objective need for the comparative analysis of United States instructional materials was corroborated also by the fact that specific items of data from the areas concerned were not available. Any published educational material that is meant to be provided to students at the various levels of public schools requires state adoption. Very subject-specific criteria are required for state adoption of such materials by the Senator für Schulwesen in West Berlin. Similar directions are applied in each of the ten other West German states by the respective Ministers of Culture and Education. The requirements for the procedure are spelled out precisely for each subject. As the state guidelines in their general outline are discussed and agreed upon by the states, and the (private) publishers must be guided by these, there is a reasonable degree of uniformity among textbooks for school use. English books in West Berlin must, among other

things, satisfy the requirements for conformity with the constitution and the established law. Contents, didactic and methodological settings must be in agreement with the subject curriculum. Academic reliability must be ensured. Until 1978, the Municipal Board of Education in the City of West Berlin had only taken into consideration instructional materials exclusively published in West Germany or in other Western countries. Conversely, the national administration of East Germany had admitted such materials only if published in East Block countries and if their content was approved. As political circumstances in East Germany were presumably not likely to turn essentially to more liberal forms, it could be reasoned that an official exchange of schoolbooks, data and the like was not feasible. This study might therefore contribute to knowledge in the field of instructional materials about the image of the United States of America as portrayed for German schools at secondary level by publishers with contrary political convictions.

From personal experiences over many years as a textbook examiner the writer could contend that different approaches and divergent interpretations of comparable issues might stimulate the pupils' interest and be of value for a more comprehensive understanding. It could be helpful when incompatible ideologies are presented to have a face to face debate on issues with different interpretations.

Educational significance of and need for this analysis might also be confirmed by United States administrators and instructors. By revealing discrepancies in particular, the

possibility should not be underestimated that one third of the entire German youths are instructed differently. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that a differently oriented language training concept has already negatively affected the feelings and the thinking of larger parts of the adolescents in terms of their relationship to the United States. Personal interviews with several East Germans at various age levels insinuated a positive attitude toward America. For correct quoting or for conclusions one should precisely distinguish between, first, the ideological background and the geographical position of the textbook writers, and, second, one should sharply discern the authors' intentions from the learners' opinions. It would grossly distort the attitude of the German people in the West and in the East toward the Americans if this distinction were not made.

The increasing significance of English as a subject taught at any West German school from grade five onward was traceable nation-wide. Successful attempts had already been made to start teaching English in grades four and three. If a foreign language is taught as the first foreign language, instruction lasts from the fifth to the thirteenth grade and represents a nine-year course. In general, the second foreign language is offered from the seventh to the thirteenth grade and represents a seven-year course. As a by-product of this development the volume of instruction time and the range of topics from and about the United States had steadily been increased to an extent that satisfied general demands and differing regional syllabi at the same time. The fact that

American topics and American English had become essential parts of any curriculum corroborated the need for a reevaluation of United States teaching materials. Generally speaking, we know from experience that a greater input into educational programs normally generated more knowledgeable and more critical students. In regard to German learners of English, each of them gets more or less, for a longer or shorter period of time, involved in this particular language training. The right choice of instructional materials presented to entire generations of young learners is therefore of utmost importance. It does, in addition to other impacts, strongly affect the individual's attitude toward the United States and the Americans. The comparative analysis of such materials in this research study was also meant to describe the different approaches to facts and issues in selected areas. The results could serve as a mirror of how leading publishers from two opposite German systems saw the United States. As the two Germanys represented millions of people standing on politically opposed grounds, their way of thinking should be regarded differentially, and, if necessary and possible, should be influenced so as to correct clichés.

It was therefore the intent of the study to analyze the image of the United States as it was presented in selected instructional materials used in English language schoolbooks at secondary level, edited by West and East German publishers. By developing and applying criteria for the selection of both types of books we expected results that might produce new components to the operational programs. The evaluation of

the findings might initiate new influences or even change the established programs for the sake of more validity, accuracy and less partiality. To ensure maximum accuracy and for matching mandated guidelines and standards, educational materials should always reflect current changes and recent events. Content analysis was to include external and internal evidence from the areas selected: prose and poetry, illustrations and other domains as well.

To achieve optimum results in this comparative study, analyses of similar situations ranked highest. Different situations, however, were also to be considered whenever they represented authenticity and relevance for the study. It was suspected that similarities and discrepancies could be evolved which were to be analyzed through the comparative procedure.

Purpose of the Study

The direction of the study was to compare English language textbooks used by West and East German students living in a divided country under different political, social and cultural conditions so as to analyze the image of the United States portrayed by the respective publishers.

The purpose of the study was directed toward identifying the different treatments of the image of the United States through a comparison of selected topics in English language textbooks.

Statement of the Problem

The thoughts developed so far in this study were based

on the notion that the United States was presented differently to German students in the instructional materials used at school. Accordingly, the pupil in the Federal Republic of Germany was presumed to have been presented one image of the United States, whereas the East German learner had built up a portrait that was different. On this basis the statement of the problem evolved: to identify the criteria applied to the illustration of life in the United States through a comparative analysis of the image of the United States as portrayed in selected English language textbooks by West and East German publishers.

Subproblems

To solve the stated task it was necessary to subdivide the main problem as follows:

1. To identify and categorize the situations used in various textbooks to illustrate life in the United States of America.
2. To develop two sets of criteria for analysis:
   a) situative criteria
   b) criteria for content analysis.
3. To ascertain the nature of the portrait of life in the United States as it appeared in the various books.
4. To identify similarities and differences in the portraits.

Assumptions

The results of the comparison of United States related instructional materials will presumably not initiate

coordinated planning and common implementation of coming textbooks in both parts of the country. Developments after 1945 have almost totally isolated and partly alienated the German people. So far there is no symptom recognizable in East Germany of an approach toward exchanging views and experiences in the field of educational materials. It can therefore be assumed that the communist policy of rigid separation also in this area is likely to continue.

> The more socialism progresses in our republic, the tighter the German Democratic Republic is integrated into the socialist community of states, the more the inconsistencies of imperialism aggravate and the West German Federal Republic holds a key position within the global strategy of the United States of America, the more distinct and rigorous becomes the intransigence of the opposed social systems. So social development objectively leads to a direction in which the process of delimitation of the socialist German Democratic Republic from the imperialist F.R.G. in all areas of social life keeps going more radical.[1]

The preeminent rank of English as a quasi-compulsory school subject in the Federal Republic is reinforced by the fact that it is voluntarily chosen by almost every pupil as the number one foreign language. On the contrary, learning Russian as an obligatory school subject is reluctantly done by most East Germans. Only few of them seize the opportunity to improve their language efficiency through talks with Russians. It could therefore be assumed that most East Germans also would give preference to English instead of Russian if they could choose freely. This allegation was supported by personal interviews of East German youths over

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[1]Erich Honecker, Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den VIII. Parteitag der SED (Berlin/East: Dietz Verlag, 1971), p. 13.

the years up to the present.

Experience has shown that learning a foreign language could develop in the pupil a positive attitude toward speakers of other languages. Transferred to national levels, an expanding multiplicity of individual learners might reinforce friendly relationships between the nations.

> Learning a foreign language is an educational experience....the socio-political implication of modern language learning must not be minimized. Knowledge of language is essential to the achievement of world solidarity, for it is the indispensable means of communication ... of entering into and participating in another's community.[1]

The implementation of a foreign language in a country's educational program should help substantiate bilaterial consistency in terms of unprejudiced treatment through the governments.

Although circulation figures of the examined books were not obtainable from East German authorities, a homogeneous treatment of all the respective titles could be assumed throughout the country. Mandatory regulations, by operation of law, make the use of all these instructional materials as well as the standardized interpretation coercive.

Limitations

The limitations concerned teaching methods, students and instructional materials. Writer and research had no control over varying concepts of individual teaching and its efficiency. The same issue treated in comparable classes could affect

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[1]Abraham, Timothy et al. Modern Language Guidelines For Secondary Schools (Cleveland, Ohio: Catholic Diocese, 1966), p. 3.

the learners' judgment differently on both sides of the country because of unmeasurable contingencies such as teacher's impact, tendency, time, emphasis and other related factors. The opinions of the students about the United States could be influenced by items of information which they had acquired outside the school. As this study also tried to identify the impact of instructional materials used at school, the students to be involved in the check on text identification were selected most carefully with regard to acquisition of knowledge. To test the validity of the findings, not more than two typical groups of approximately fifty students altogether were selected to represent thousands of other individuals. This restriction, however, should not call into question the conclusions resulting from the findings.

Finally, other informative materials the students had previously or additionally used and the subjects selected from them could not be affected through this thesis.

Delimitations

To conduct an analysis of the image of the United States in German instructional materials used at secondary level a border line was necessarily to be drawn. This border delimited the type of schools, the students involved and the materials selected.

In terms of schools the research study was confined to two public co-educational Gymnasien in West Berlin. No classroom research was feasible in East Berlin. The diversified West German educational system had established basically

different types of schools besides the Gymnasium. Any of these schools call for learning of at least one modern foreign language, which is almost always English. As goals and objectives are modified, the language proficiency of any of the non-selective schools is, naturally, inferior to the Gymnasium.

The ages of the students concerned and their standard of English language proficiency seemed most appropriate for the investigation. Included were male and female students from West Berlin, grades eleven to thirteen (now called Gymnasiale Oberstufe), aged sixteen to twenty, with similar features in terms of high academic abilities and, for the most part, a positive attitude toward school and learning. According to their ages, they all had taken at least four to six years of English at school. Their social background, of course, varied, although most of them descended from the wealthy middle and upper classes.

The materials were delimited to leading state adopted English language textbooks from German publishers which are used nation-wide. The book contents were basically similar for any type school. In spite of necessary limits in the research to Gymnasien in West Berlin, the basis for representative findings still remained. The general validity of the results could not be questioned. The topics selected were primarily allocated to the areas of humanities, civics and politics.

Areas which were of no, or of only secondary, concern for the analysis were not taken into consideration. So

didactic setting, methodological procedures, functional grammar exercises and like phenomena lay outside the boundary and were therefore not subjects of this study.

Definitions

Allgemeinbildung Lehrplanwerk Unterricht - General education curriculum instruction.

Auflage - edition.

Ausgabe - copy, reprint.

Autorenkollektiv unter der Leitung von... - Authors' collective under the direction of...

Curriculares Grundprogramm für Englisch - Curricular basic program for English. It outlines in general terms the objectives. There is one for each subject.

Der Senator für Schulwesen - The Senator for Schools, i.e., The Municipal Board of Education in West Berlin. It is similar to the State Ministry of Culture and Education in the ten other states of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Gesamtschule - Comprehensive school. The newest form of secondary education for grades seven to thirteen. All types of schools in one building to facilitate continuous interchange among students and school types. Attended by ca. twenty-five per cent of all West German students.

Gymnasiale Oberstufe - The upper level of the West German Gymnasium starting after grade ten. Prior to 1973, denoted by grades eleven to thirteen. The GO has replaced the old class system for the purpose of more individualized instruction by grouping students in courses rather than in classes.

Few basic courses are obligatory, others must be selected by the student according to his intentions and abilities. Graduation (Abitur) is requested within two to three and a half years, i.e., four to seven semesters.

Gymnasium, pl. Gymnasien - The academic secondary school. It is attended by approximately thirty-one per cent of the youths. The Gymnasium is a university-preparatory school, from which are graduated almost all Germans who go on to the universities and other institutions of higher learning. The Gymnasium in East Germany is comparable to the West German with regard to high academic standards.

Hauptschule - Main school. Provides all-round education including also academic subjects at a lower level, English and pre-vocational training courses. Attended by ca. twenty-one per cent of all West German students.

Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) - An interstate conference, constituted by agreement, in which all Ministries of Culture and Education are represented. The objective of this body is to enforce nation-wide principles with regard to school types, examination standards, curricula, syllabi, selection of instructional materials, requirements for book content and the like. Final autonomy still remains with each state.

Neugestaltung der gymnasialen Oberstufe. Vorläufiges Grundprogramm für das Fach Englisch - Remodeling of the upper level of the Gymnasium. Tentative basic program for the subject English.

Rahmenpläne für Unterricht und Erziehung in der Berliner Schule. Gymnasium. Ergänzungslieferung - Skeleton plans for instruction and education in the Berlin school. Gymnasium. Amendment.

Realschule - Semi-academic secondary school. It offers less academic subjects to fifth to tenth graders (in West Berlin grades seven to ten) plus pre-vocational training programs. It is attended by about twenty-three per cent of all students.

Zehnklassige allgemeinbildende polytechnische Oberschule (in East Germany since 1965) - Ten-year general polytechnical secondary school. Socialist unity school for all children. Grades one to ten, ages six to sixteen. Grades eleven to twelve = Abitur level.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

To become familiarized with the work that had been done in this field, the related literature in West Berlin and in the United States was reviewed. Included were titles published since 1966. The largest library of Germany, the library of the Freie Universität Berlin (West), and its affiliated Kennedy Institute for America Studies had not revealed literature which could be related to the proposed investigation. Although it was not very likely to arrive at more productive results - all titles of East German publications are also covered by West German university libraries - an exhaustive review of recent and related titles by East German publishers was conducted, too. Being checked were those catalogs which listed all titles published at West and East German universities, academies and like institutions. Neither of the following bibliographies produced subject related clues:

"Deutsche Bibliographie, Hochschulschriften-Verzeichnis"
(German Bibliography, list of university publications)
(Frankfurt am Main/West Germany: Deutsche Bibliothek, 1972-1977).

"Jahresverzeichnis der deutschen Hochschulschriften"
(Annual list of German university publications)

1967-1972. Bearbeitet von der Deutschen Bucherei. (Leipzig/East Germany: VEB Verlag für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 1973/75).

"Deutsche Nationalbiographie, Reihe C: Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften" 1969-1977 (Heft 1-6) (German National Biography, Series C: Dissertations and theses submitted for the certificate of habilitation) (Leipzig/East Germany: VEB Verlag für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen).

Finally, the "Subject Guide To Books In Print 1976," vols. I and II (New York: R. R. Bowker Company) was in vain scrutinized with regard to titles of studies that could be related to the topic of this study.

As far as Germany is concerned there was found no literature that could be connected with this specific area of investigation. Other literature, however, did not show evidence of research work in terms of comparative analyses of West and East German English language textbooks.

The research for related literature was then extended to DATRIX and ERIC in the United States. The results showed that a great many works have been written dealing with handbook materials for teachers of English, modern language guidelines for secondary schools, procedures for the selection of educational materials in the United States public schools, and, of course, countless German or English language textbooks and other instructional materials. None of the titles from these areas provided items or thoughts that would have fitted into the specific frame of this study. In a great

many books it was generally assumed that the value of instructional media was considered extremely important although "... the exact nature of the role that those materials play in educational processes is unclear."[1]

It was generally accepted also that the particular role of the textbook in the teaching-learning process should yet be fully explored to arrive at more reliable data. The central position of the book during long phases of the learning process was undisputed.

> The textbook can create images that may be valid or invalid, depending on what information is presented and how it is presented. Therefore it is important that the content presented is adequately and accurately developed.[2]

This study thus intended to add a contribution to the field of English language textbook contents in regard to presenting features of the United States in East and West Germany. In doing so, the material collected might elucidate the close relationship of intent and content.

Another assessment which was commonly accepted in language related literature was the pre-eminent socio-political implication of modern language learning. The German people's native tongue has remained one of the most indispensable means of unimpeded communication with one another. Also for East German functionaries, as could be seen in the Introduction,

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[1]Selection of Educational Materials in the United States Public Schools (New York, N.Y.: Institute For Educational Development, 1969), p. 3.

[2]Bernadyn K. Suh, Quantitative and Qualitative Evaluation of Social Studies Textbook Content (ERIC: ED 084 180, 1970), p. 2.

socio-political implications were considered significant. They associated knowledge of English primarily as most essential for communist solidarity. But the educational aims of a foreign language training reach much further.

> Technological advances in methods of communication and transportation have occasioned frequent contacts of people of different culture. In view of such progress, the goals of foreign language teaching must necessarily be expanded beyond the traditional concepts of the acquisition of reading and writing skills and even of comprehension of speech, to a penetration into the culture of the people whose language is being studied.[1]

One of the most important instruments for paving the way into a strange culture has always been the textbook for both the language teacher and the student. A comprehensive analysis of content and the methodology of textbooks and of the teaching of English language skills in the Gymnasium was submitted by Marianne Hengst in 1974.[2] Although this research study was limited to textbooks used at the German Gymnasien in one state only, it provided a nearly total survey of the development of foreign language teaching methods and their application to foreign language instruction. In her dissertation, Hengst also described the educational system of West Germany prior to 1974.

An indispensable consultant for content analysis was the standard work Public Opinion and Communication by

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[1]Abraham, Timothy et al., Modern Language Guidelines For Secondary Schools (Cleveland, Ohio: Catholic Diocese, 1966), p. 4.

[2]Marianne Hengst, An Analysis of English Language Textbooks Used in the Gymnasium of the State of North-Rhine-Westphalia (West Germany) (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1974).

Berelson & Janowitz.[1] It not only provided the basics but it covered almost completely the specific aspects and requirements in this field and the related areas.

As research had, to the knowledge of the writer, evolved no literature that could more closely be related to the topic of this study, it must be assumed that there was no referential literature to be taken into consideration.

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[1]Bernard Berelson & Morris Janowitz, Public Opinion and Communication (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY, COLLECTION OF DATA, TREATMENT OF CRITERIA

Methodology

The introduction to the problem has been presented in the first chapter. In chapter two related literature was surveyed showing its adaptability, and its contribution to knowledge of image analysis in the United States. The third chapter of this dissertation attempts to describe the procedure of how the subproblems are to be treated. It displays findings and conclusions from evidential data.

As previously stated, all public schools in West and East Germany provided the schools with state adopted textbooks and other approved materials. State adoption was granted only if fundamental requirements in terms of content and validity were fulfilled, which established widely synchronized standards among the different schoolbooks. This fact facilitated the selection of material for this thesis. The samples chosen for the comparative analysis were instructional materials used in West Berlin, respectively West Germany, and East Germany. They could, for the reasons mentioned, be considered representative of these sections of Germany, since they were identical to other approved editions. Thus each selection mirrored a whole concept in each state.

As far as East Germany was concerned, there was no

alternative. English for You, a series of textbooks from level one to seven, must be used at the communist unified school. With regard to additional readers, poetry and songs, the choice was limited to a few samples admitted by the national Ministry in East Berlin. The fact that the West German school system was ramified into different branches did not affect its universally high standard at the Gymnasium level. As a matter of fact, the majority of states and schools preferred textbooks published by the few leading private companies in the country whose products were also used for this study.

> The differentiation of the Gymnasium into Altsprachliches Gymnasium (Gymnasium for Classical Languages), Neusprachliches Gymnasium (Gymnasium for Modern Languages), and Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliches Gymnasium (Gymnasium for Mathematics and Science) does not influence the general English language program to a great extent. Naturally, the number of hours devoted to modern language instruction varies with the type of Gymnasium, ... In any event, foreign language instruction on the Oberstufe (upper level, grades 11-13) of all types of Gymnasien involves abstract ideas and concepts of time and space, which must be understood and dealt with in the foreign language.... In the upper grades 11 to 13, however, approximately 75 per cent of the English language instruction is devoted to literary analysis of poetry, prose, and drama....
>
> The highest educational aims are the socialization and emancipation of the pupil. This is achieved through communication, cooperation, critical thinking and problem-solving, and social and political openness for what is different.[1]

The general educational ends in both parts of the partioned country were identical. Each aimed first at mastering

[1]Marianne Hengst, An Analysis Of English Language Textbooks Used In The Gymnasium Of The State Of North-Rhine-Westphalia (West Germany) (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1974), pp. 198-200.

the language orally, and second in writing it. This would make the second objective, the understanding of literature and culture, possible. Therefore the linguistic objectives of English language instruction in the lower grades were given priority. The pupil was to be enabled to communicate in English. The reading material provided to the student by the textbook, represented the child's world. The topics dealt with in the books for beginners had pictures and descriptions about England with reference to climate, daily life in the city, country, and school. By the end of grade ten the student was to have mastered the English language as a means of communication. Systematic language training gave way to reading and analysis of English and American literature. The pupil was expected to express his own thoughts orally and write in formal stylistic language. About one half of the total instruction should be devoted to the study of literary works at the upper level. In addition to the foremost aim of mastering the English language, Kulturkunde as a socio-political objective was pursued; i.e., culture in the "anthropological" as well as in the "civilization" sense. The comparative analysis was based on textbooks, poetry and illustrative materials used at the upper level of German schools. Textbooks covering grades five to eight were exempt from this analysis, since they concentrated on the acquisition of language skills. As far as literature was concerned there were no administrative delimitations to narrow the individual choice by the teacher in the West.

The analyses of the aforementioned English language

textbooks were mainly concerned with the establishment of general trends in terms of the image of the United States; i.e., primarily the analysis did not attempt to treat each textbook in detail or to show a number of advantages or disadvantages. This comparative analysis selected, for the greater part, symptomatic items of similar background but different presentations.

For the purpose of evaluating findings in a later chapter, and also for checking on validity of the results gained, it was appropriate to measure specific items with related subject presentations in recently state adopted textbooks from the United States. An intensive study was made at an earlier stage of research to obtain reliable data and criteria from the most frequently used American textbooks in the concerned subject areas. The following references were available:

1. William H. Hartley and William S. Vincent, American Civics (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974).
2. Jack Allen, American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1973).
3. Edwin Fenton et al., Comparative Political Systems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973).
4. Dell Felder, The Challenge of American Democracy (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974).

Subproblem 1 .

In more general terms, the step-by-step procedure implemented can be described as follows. The selected books were first grouped by origin: East and West German. A further grouping by grade level was unnecessary because only

those books were analyzed that were used by senior students. Next the book contents were identified and coded in the amount of United States related information presented. The content compiled from each of the textbooks was then examined paragraph by paragraph, and divided into categories. These categories differentiated and described the content being investigated, and they also defined the limits of the aggregate of material being analyzed. It was decided to capitalize on the category system, subcategories were arranged to sufficiently elucidate a definite idea or concept on the subject. Factors in the natural environment of textbook content could be allocated here; items taken from literature, songbooks, poetry, interpretations, teachers' guidelines, and illustrations. Wherever possible, identical items were chosen to establish analyses of parallel situations.

Subproblem 2

After all the recording units of the contextual content were identified and categorized under the subcategories, two sets of criteria for situation and content analysis were developed.

Situative criteria (Subproblem 2a) generally portrayed an incident from the above mentioned areas, and provided external evidence about the presentation and description of a situation in terms of:

quantification of topics

omission of items

grade of differentiation

acceptability

atmosphere

span of time covered

utilization of illustrations

typographical setting.

Content analysis (Subproblem 2b) covered internal evidence. The content of the original texts was analyzed in terms of choice of words and accuracy. The terminology provided clues for the identification of the text, its intent as well as its distribution and importance of content.

> Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.... The requirement of system ... is meant to eliminate partial or biased analyses in which only those elements in the content are selected which fit the analyst's thesis.... The requirement of quantification ... is perhaps the most distinctive feature of content analysis. Of primary importance in content analysis is ... the relative emphases and omissions.... Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established.[1]

Subproblem 3

After the identification and categorization of situations (Subproblem 1), and the development of criteria for the analyses (Subproblem 2), the ascertainment of the nature of the portraits of life in the United States, as it appeared in the various books, was to be undertaken next (Subproblem 3). Applying the developed criteria, we were equipped with the

[1]Bernard Berelson & Morris Janowitz , Public Opinion and Communication (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 263-264.

instruments to ascertain the features of the different portraits in terms of what is said.

The developed sets of analysis criteria dealt with single items, and generally focused first on situative features, and then defined internal evidence. This procedure involved incoherent essentials in the portrayal of life in the United States, as ascribed to in the set up major categories.

Subproblem 4

In the fourth and final phase of the procedure (Subproblem 4), similarities and differences from the previously developed components of the portraits were identified. It was not intended to merely list the essentials but to synthesize them under the aspect of correlations with the areas in which the similarities and discrepancies were allocated. The quantification of these phenomena in certain areas might affect the portrait, and was therefore of relevance with regard to the findings (Chapter 4) and the conclusions (Chapter 5) of the study.

The portrait of the United States of America as it was presented in typical instructional materials in Germany would become properly relevant only if it was also correlated to the individual learner for whom it was drawn. The manner in which a country's portrait is presented can certainly affect the person's feelings toward a land and its citizens.

It was considered important to include in this analysis the subjective verdict of the students who worked several years with the language programs. Their ability to identify

an unknown text should therefore be tested. The conclusions they drew could verify symptoms applicable to many youths of the same age in both parts of the divided country. To a great extent the language standard in the books and the level of language competence of the users were identical and the generalizations were justifiable. Moreover, identity with regard to the school population was ensured. The stratification of all students involved in the task was identical in terms of age and academic aptitude. As far as political convictions were concerned there was enough variety given. In heterogeneously constituted courses there was evidence that important political views among the students were satisfactorily represented.

For this purpose, the West Berlin groups were presented an excerpt from an East German language textbook about a familiar topic. Not knowing the source of the publication they were asked for identification by conducting a text analysis. This was a procedure in which they had experience. Striking criteria were expected to be recognized and defined, and the inferences they made might focus on the question of objectivity and prejudice. The sources would presumably be identified. One conclusion of the pupils might be that East German students at secondary school level would be able to recognize and ascertain prejudice and partiality toward the image of the United States. The conclusions resulting from all data showed what results the portraits drawn in West and East German textbooks evoked in the minds of the students, what impact they exerted on young learners and what

the individual really knew and felt about the United States of America.

For identification the material was constantly reread, regrouped and reclassified. Eventually, it was divided into three major categories:

1. Political Foundations
2. Economic Matters
3. Social Problems

The major categories were then differentiated into sub-categories to better allocate data and evidence from the related areas. The East German material, as a rule, preceded the West German. A quotation introduced into the particular problems before the material was displayed and ascertained by applying the criteria for the analyses. A major category was concluded by identifying similarities and differences of the portrait in this area.

Collection of Data

Political Foundations - East

Institutions and Parties

> The laws made by Congress are not for the people but for Big Business. The people are not represented there. Though we make up 61 per cent of Washington's population we still have to fight for full civil rights. We are proud of our town as a centre of the civil rights movement.[1]

The comment by a young Black taxi-driver was part of a description of the capital's main offices. The White House

[1]Ewald Festag und Dieter Kerl, English for You 6 (3. Auflage; Ausgabe 1970; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1974), p. 8.

was denoted as the office of the President of the United States of America, who is the first man in the state but not the most influential one: all executive power lay with the mighty monopoly groups. Through the employers' associations they also financed, conducted and controlled the system of the bourgeois political parties. Both, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, attended to the interests of monopoly capital. The presidential role was described as President of State, Head of the Government and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Neither the President nor his cabinet were subject to parliamentarian control. All legislation lay with the Congress.[1]

The United States was not ruled by a government of the common people for the working class, it was the progressive forces that organized large rallies against the government and its policy with regard to war, growing unemployment, exploitation and discrimination of colored people. A photo on page seven in English for You 6 was to provide the evidence: it showed a crowd of young people calling for peace, social advancement and full emancipation in front of the Capitol. The number of powerful rallies with thousands of Black and white protest marchers grew with increasing misery, particularly among the colored population. As the foreign policy of the United States jeopardized world peace, the progressive forces also organized actions against American imperialism.

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[1]Lothar Pohl & Bernd Zickler & Ingrid Eitlinger, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 6 (2. Auflage; Ausgabe 1973; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1973), p. 42.

The students outside the country became informed about the solidarity of young Americans against the common imperialistic class enemy. Progressive people all over the world would fight for their basic rights.

Since the country's leading parties did not serve the interests of the common people, the Communist Party, C.P.U.S.A., played an increasing role. Although small in number, it had taken the lead in the fight for peace and social advancement. "Its influence on the youth is growing...," contended Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Party, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist Party in 1969 (Festag/Kerl, English for you 6, p. 54). The only Marxist-Leninist party in the United States had added a new quality to all phases of American life. It had nurtured and planted the seeds of socialism among American workers, said Gus Hall (ibid., p. 56).

> The significance of this struggle will grow as the struggles of the working class move toward the historic point of a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.... of all the political parties, the Communist Party is the pioneer in the struggle against the special system of discrimination and segregation practiced against 25 million Black Americans.... The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has been and is the most consistent opponent of U.S. imperialism (ibid.).

In its leading role and through its newspaper, Daily Worker, the Communist Party enforced the growing strength and unity of the working class in its intensifying struggles for better materialistic conditions.

The transition period from capitalism to socialism was characterized by the fact that "... Colored and Whites in the United States are prosecuted, ill-treated or killed because

of their engagement for equality of rights." (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 77). The civil rights movement reflected the aggravated class struggle in the United States. The Communist Party gave its full support to the underprivileged. The struggle against racism was to be combined with the struggle against United States imperialism. As unemployment, oppression, discrimination and racism were increasing, the C.P.U.S.A. as the only democratic party supported the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian workers together with the progressive white workers against capitalist exploitation (Festag/Kerl, English for you 6, pp. 54-55).

> It is the main task of the Communist Party today to fight fascism in the U.S.A. and to teach the working people that black and white have to stand together, not only in their fight against racism but also in their fight for political rights for the working class (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 66).

Provided with these notions about significant political institutions and parties, the East German students were confronted next with single facts illustrating the background information. Evidence of individual terror and prosecution was given. Henry Winston, for example, the Communist Party's (colored) National Chairman since 1966, had devoted himself to fight for the unity of Black and white workers. Because of these political activities this outstanding leader of the Communist and Negro movement of the United States and true Marxist-Leninist, was brought before the law court along with other Party members and put in prison in 1956 where he lost his eye sight as a result of bad medical care. "In 1961 he was released because of widespread protests." (Festag/Kerl,

English for you 6, p. 56).

Gus Hall led hunger marches for the unemployed and organized strikes and demonstrations. He was prosecuted on several occasions for his political activity in the 1930's and 1950's. "The world knows him as a man who combines his profound and proven patriotism with an equally profound and proven internationalism." (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 189).

Federal Agencies

Besides the textbook, the students in East Germany must also study modern literature, where few titles are allowed. Each text should reflect the struggle of the C.P.U.S.A., the vital interests of the American working class, and the inhuman practices of federal agencies.

The un-Americans (1957), by Alvah Bessie, denounced such a federal agency being established to prosecute progressive people: the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).[1] Bessie's work was considered an important literary model of the struggle by Communists for a better America, and an uncompromising denunciation of McCarthyism. It was also an important contribution to literature about the Spanish people's fight for freedom. In the story, two New York journalists meet as war correspondents at the Spanish front in 1938, demonstrating international solidarity against fascism. In 1950, the Hollywood Ten, Alvah Bessie and nine

[1]Alvah Bessie, The un-Americans in: "This Is My Fight - From American Literature of Today" (2. Auflage; Ausgabe 1972; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1974).

other film writers and producers were imprisoned because they, as American citizens, claimed their right to freedom of conscience and refused to report to HUAC on their political beliefs. Since then many American patriots have been sentenced for the same reason as being "un-American."

Albert Maltz, a profiled proletarian writer, was one of the ten who was sentenced to one year imprisonment by HUAC in 1950 for his progressive political views. His prosecution resulted from his book Circus Come to Town and other short stories. Here he showed sympathy for the suffering of the poor, suppressed, and people deprived of rights. Maltz described how shameless exploitation, unemployment and police terror resulted in millions of people's want, misery and despair.[1]

Pete Seger represented the peace song interpreter and fighter against war and crime.

HUAC had banned him from concert halls, TV and radio.

These and other "progressive" people continued the long fight for better working and living conditions for Black people, initiated by Abraham Lincoln. His abolition of slavery was one of the milestones in the history of the United States. He had won the sympathy of many "progressive" people in America, contended East German publishers.

Besides the White House and the Capitol, the Pentagon was mentioned as another federal agency. According to Pohl: "Synonym for the U.S. war ministry and its imperialistic and

[1]Albert Maltz, Circus Come to Town (Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1965).

aggressive foreign policy. It is closely allied to the leading monopolies and tries to manipulate public opinion through a network of radio and TV stations." (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 87).

Legal Order

There were no coherent quotations from or interpretations of the Constitution and the United States Supreme Court in East German instructional materials.

Political Foundations - West

Institutions and Parties

> In the United States the Supreme Court is the final interpreter of the Constitution. That means, in practice, that the Constitution establishes the outer limits of authority of both Congress and the President. It has taken upon itself the role of examining the acts of Congress and of the President to assure that they conform to the requirements of the Constitution.[1]

Since the members of the United States Supreme Court were appointed for life, their integrity was never questioned. They were sheltered from political pressures and influences through, for instance, pressure groups and Big Business. In this way, Congress and the President were prevented from not acting according to the requirements of the Constitution. The laws made by Congress must conform to the Constitution. Consequently the laws and the Constitution could not be used against the people. A differentiated central system of democratic institutions had been invented

[1]Hélène Clément and Catherine Temerson, Catching up with America (Stuttgart/West Germany: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1975), pp. 22-23.

to safeguard the interests of the people. The West German students were thoroughly informed about all important political institutions and the leading parties.

The structure of the American government was described as a system of checks and balances.[1] At its top was the President who was endowed with considerable power: he appointed the cabinet, made treatises, and could suggest laws to the government. All taxation laws, however, originated in the House of Representatives. The enormous power of the President sprang mainly from the existence of nuclear deterrents of which he had control. The President's office was occasionally portrayed by the telephone which symbolized the might of a sword: through the telephone it was ensured that the President could get in touch with all civilian and military nerve centers. According to the eminent function of the President of the United States, much attention was given to the presidential elections and the American party system. "The political differences between the two great parties are often small, and the presidential election sometimes appears to be more a battle of personalities than of politics."[2] "A favorite criticism of the American party system is that there are few if any clear points of difference between the two major parties. By and large, most of the middle class and the wealthy are Republicans and most of the low-

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[1]H. J. Lechler et al., Modern Life Learning English A4/B3 (Stuttgart/West Germany: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1972), p. 192.

[2]Karl Beilhardt et al., Learning English B 2 (Stuttgart/West Germany: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1967), p. 52.

income and poor families are Democrats. There is no uniformity, however ...."[1] Since there were not many discernible features between the parties, West German textbook publishers defined them as follows: "The Republicans represent the rich man in this country anyway. If the little man is heard from at all, it's through the Democratic Party."[2]

Another publisher pursued the historical development of the two leading parties and arrived at this result: "... nowadays it is hard to distinguish between the two parties' political platforms. The matter is more one of a tradition, which varies according to families and States, than of clearly formulated doctrines." (Clément/Temarson, p. 27).

The presidential election was described and analyzed in detail, and a national convention of the Democratic Party was looked upon as the greatest political show on earth with a formalized program. Presidential elections were an incident of national concern. Many average citizens got involved and the people's public discussions on single issues were taken seriously by the candidates. Executing people's opinion, in 1965, Congress took the strongest action it had ever taken to make sure Negroes could vote. The close connection of public opinion and American politics was illustrated by further examples from the nation's history. Excerpts from the following documents could be found in Britain and America, but the

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[1]Maria Alpers und Herbert Voges, Britain and America, Oberstufe (3. Auflage; Berlin/West: Velhagen & Klasing, 1971), p. 139.

[2]Helmut Knippschild, English For You Band 5/6 (Dortmund/West Germany: Verlag Lambert Lensing, 1973), p. 98.

same or similar ones were also part of most West German English language textbooks: The Mayflower Compact; The Declaration of Independence; Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and his Gettysburg Address of November 19, 1863. The lofty goals of some of America's greatest presidents were referred to in many books by excerpts from Inaugural Addresses: The American Dream (Thomas Jefferson, 1801); The Unity of the Nation (Abraham Lincoln, 1861); Good Will and World Politics (John F. Kennedy, 1961) (Lechler, p. 197).

Of all American presidents, George Washington - "The man who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." (Beilhardt, p. 54) - Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy were most frequently cited and portrayed.

The political and moral response of state institutions to the great national issues was illustrated in several books by decisions pertaining to minorities. In terms of progress toward equality the tenor was as follows: "The Federal Government, however, has shown itself to be on the side of the Negroes in their struggle for equal rights, and much is being done, though slowly, to prevent racial discrimination all over the United States." (Ibid., pp. 51-52).

The responsibility of Congress became obvious with reference to another minority group, namely the American Indian. In connection with the final slaughter of Wounded Knee, "... the Congress of the United States has become guiltily concerned about the condition and fate of the native American Indian. The most recent manifestation of that concern is the

House of Representative's Bill 10560, also known as the Indian Resources Development Act of 1967." (Alpers/Voges, p. 72).

Federal Agencies

Of all federal agencies that were linked to the government the F.B.I. was the only one which was given some attention in the West German textbooks. Most descriptions dealt with the functions of the federal bureau as they had grown and changed in the course of time. When it was founded during Theodore Roosevelt's term in office its main task was to put an end to corrupt and otherwise fraudulent practices rampant in all real estate dealings in the West of the country.

> At the present time, the concept of federal crime has broadened considerably. It includes more than 180 different offenses: the violation of civil rights, electorial fraud, drug smuggling, assassination or acts of aggression against the President or other members of the Federal Government, etc. (Clément/Temerson, p. 39).

In the same article the F.B.I. was blamed for discriminating because qualified women's applications were all denied although "men only" and "women only" requirements had to be removed from all federal jobs (ibid., p. 41).

Most West German schoolbooks at the upper level reported about the American Peace Corps which was set up to help people help themselves and similar institutions in other countries. The largest office building in the world, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., was being referred to as the United States Department of Defense (Beilhardt, p. 48).

Legal Order

> The Supreme Court is a sacred institution in the American political tradition.... A strong, independent federal judiciary has come to be one of the most important institutions in American life. It is perhaps the most powerful judiciary of any nation in the world. In that sense, it is a uniquely American contribution (Clément/Temerson, pp. 21-22).

The Constitution of the United States and the country's Supreme Court were treated with priority in all West German schoolbooks examined. As the federal Constitution of 1789 was strictly one of governmental powers, the significance of the first ten amendments to the Constitution were emphasized in the comments. They were commonly referred to as the Bill of Rights. The first eight amendments set out the personal rights of the American citizen such as freedom of religion, freedom of speech, press and assembly. "Today, one should specially bear in mind the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech (hence freedom of the press) and which forbids the institution of a State religion." (Ibid., p. 15).

Other extracts from the Constitution considered the Thirteenth Amendment (abolition of slavery), Fourteenth Amendment (citizenship), Twenty-sixth Amendment (lowering to eighteen years the minimum voting age).

To stimulate the students' own reactions to the effects of the administration of law recent rulings were being presented. Among the typical issues to be discussed was the following: Should complete freedom be given to the various mass media? The conflict was made plain by top secret

Pentagon papers on the origins of the Viet Nam war which were published by the New York Times in June 1973. The independent judges of the Supreme Court decided to uphold the right of the press to publish the secret Pentagon papers.

Segregation on buses was generally accepted as a typical crime which was finally decided in favor of the discriminated: "The case was taken to the United States Supreme Court which ruled against segregated seating in municipal buses, and bus segregation came to an end in Montgomery." (Beilhardt, p. 89).

In 1974 students were reminded it was the year of the twentieth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision abolishing segregated schools. Martin Luther King had commented on the historic ruling as follows: "Climaxing this process was the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. For all men of good will May 17, 1954, marked a joyous end to the long night of enforced segregation." (Alpers/Voges, p. 76).

Treatment of Criteria

East

Situative Criteria

To ascertain the nature of the portrait of the United States of America in this area, as the East German publishers presented it, the situative criteria were applied first to evolve external evidence.

Of primary importance was the relative quantification of topics, the emphases and omissions. The most distinctive features were first, that the number of political institutions

regarded was small, and second, the distribution of content with regard to the political parties obviously favored one organ, namely the C.P.U.S.A.

The Congress was cited only to show that it did not serve its primary constitutional function, namely to make laws for all people. Formally the legislative power lay with the Congress, but the de facto power was with the mighty monopoly groups or "Big Business." The role of the President and the leading political parties as well was described as that of dependent agents of monopoly capital, and as such they were incapable of making and executing democratic decisions independently. The result of anti-human capitalism was nation-wide uneasiness, culminating in protest marches of the people against the federal government in the nation's capital. Both, dissatisfaction and rallies, were increasing. The target of international protest was the imperialistic class enemy, as he throve in capitalist countries abroad. Thus national, international and multi-racial solidarity must be the response. It was due to the C.P.U.S.A. that the common enemy was attacked by uniting all progressive people, or as they were occasionally cited by the working class, respectively all working people. Although a definition in the sociological sense was not given, we know from everyday usage in communist-socialist terminology that the so described classes represented the communist, socialist and Marxist proletarians.

According to its historic role in paving the way toward socialism, the C.P.U.S.A. dedicated most attention to all

United States parties. Exact data of its actual role, however, were not given. One could expect here that the C.P. at the threshold of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism would be supported by the masses and that precise figures would document recent trends. But the only reference to statistics was vague and ran as follows: "The Communist Party of the U.S.A., though small, plays an important role in the fight for peace and social advancement. Its influence on the youth is growing." (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 54). The seeds of socialism planted by the communists among the American workers had obviously not yet affected the working class on a larger scale. Yet the publishers used to portray the C.P.U.S.A. in a way that suggested its dominating role in political life. As no exact data and figures were communicated the Communist Party's goals were displayed again, focusing on its central task to fight fascism in the United States.

Again, no accurate material was provided to illustrate the situation more comprehensively to make the call for struggling against fascism understandable. In an undifferentiated way phenomena like fascism, class struggle, exploitation, oppression, discrimination, prosecution and the like were described in somber hues. The anti-human character of capitalism was said to manifest in the special system of discrimination and segregation practiced against twenty-five million Black Americans. Also those white fellow-countrymen who struggled with them were prosecuted, ill-treated or killed because of their active association with the civil

rights movement. It was only the Communist Party that gave the underprivileged its full support. The historic task the working class of the United States should be aiming at was the unified struggle of Black and white workers against the common enemy, monopoly capital.

For the communists, class struggle was also expressed in the civil rights movement. But its development and its well-known leaders, its successes and actual progress were not considered. It was associated only with the main objective of the C.P.U.S.A. as an instrument to combine the struggle against racism with the struggle against American imperialism. As reliable data were not communicated, a few individuals of the same political background were portrayed to represent the whole class. Selected were only "progressive" Americans, mostly Blacks, who had been prosecuted for their political activities. First, the choice of persons and their presentation produced the impression of having a political mandate by America's working class, which they pretended to represent, and second, that all "progressive" people were deprived of constitutional rights. Here we see that the amendments to the Constitution in terms of the Bill of Rights and the United States Supreme Court's historic decisions with regard to end discrimination and segregation were not mentioned at all. Instead of impartial law courts, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had been installed to sue and imprison patriotic American citizens seeking their right to freedom of conscience. The few examples admitted by the East German publishers only described in general terms those cases

for which communists were sentenced. Being labeled as "un-American," many persons had been sentenced and some were physically ruined in prison as a result of bad medical care. No definition of the word "un-American" was given. Nor were the violations described for which the "political prisoners" were sued.

As reliable statistics were not given, authenticity was borrowed from modern literature. The few writers quoted had one criterion in common: they were all profiled proletarian writers who continued the long fight for better working and living conditions. The struggles originated with the initiative of Abraham Lincoln whose contribution to the progress of mankind had effected the abolition of slavery, according to the East German publishers. So as to emphasize his historic achievements, Lincoln's portrait was the only one esteemed highly in the books besides the photos of communist party functionaries.

The Pentagon, one of the few federal departments of interest for East Germans, was paraphrased as the "U.S. war ministry" to enforce aggressive foreign policy and to manipulate public opinion through the mass media.

The application of the situative criteria developed a portrait of the United States political foundations with most distinctive negative features and with only one positive exception: the C.P.U.S.A. It was therefore granted the most space and attention. The distribution of content evidently favored this party although its actual size was small. The illustrative materials utilized in this subject area contained

the Lincoln Memorial, protest marchers in front of the Capitol and five photos of communist functionaries. The East German book English for You 6 was the only volume out of seven that focused exclusively on the United States, with only one exception: seven out of eight lessons dealt with the United States. The quantification of topics and features denouncing the established political foundations of the country was geared with one-sided positive features related to the C.P.U.S.A. The impression of an anti-American attitude was also corroborated by omissions: the nation's Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court, the F.B.I. and like features of American democracy were largely ignored.

Content Analysis

An analysis of the evolved samples and evidences from the East German textbooks must, besides external features, also include internal criteria. The identification of traits under the aspect of quantification of emphases and omissions of topics in its majority, had emerged one-sided, showing anti-American features in a prejudiced and undifferentiated atmosphere. The content analysis that followed the application of the situative criteria therefore focused on interior evidences such as choice of words and characters, accuracy in the presentation, distribution and importance of content.

> Content analysis is often done to reveal the purposes, motives, and other characteristics of the communication as they are (presumably) "reflected" in the content.... Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrence of various characteristics of the content is itself

an important factor in the communication process (Berelson & Janowitz, pp. 264-265).

In the communication process a central position is occupied by the choice of words. With regard to the political foundations the prose text vocabulary was generally geared with the respective matter. For the outward description of buildings and sites the terminology was appropriate. Dealing with actions in process or ideological aims, however, the language immediately turned into socialist set phrases used world-wide. These slogans were immanent in every text with political content or propaganda intent. Among others, the following terms were most often used in the aforementioned situations:

> rallies for peace and social advancement, call for peace, powerful protest, marchers, war policy, Big Business, imperialism, civil rights movement, emancipation, segregation, discrimination, underprivileged American people, racism, C.P.U.S.A., victory, state monopoly capitalism, unemployment, working class, international proletarianism, fight the enemy, Pentagon = war ministry.

Another relevant criterion of text analysis was the accuracy in the description of single items. The selected examples in the East German textbooks gave the impression that the publishers handled accuracy differently. In regard to portraying communist leaders, incidents and aims, an accurate though tendentious description was the norm. With reference to depicting the entity of democratic foundations the

publishers refrained from portraying it accurately and thoroughly. They did not prove accuracy either when offenses of political violators were only vaguely described. Here, the communist bookwriters provided the learners with minimal information such as: "prosecuted on several occasions for his political activity." Protagonists in East German textbooks were all individuals or groups who had profiled publicly as communists. The leaders were called communists; common members of the C.P.U.S.A. and less known worker leaders were generally referred to as "progressive" people. According to international proletarian practice these people pretended to support and associate with the civil rights movement. But the late great leader of the movement, Martin Luther King, was not even mentioned. The students in East Germany were not informed either about the true notions of the civil rights movement, and the relations of its representatives toward the so-called progressive people. Allegedly, only the C.P.U.S.A. had supported the civil rights movement vigorously so that the communist ideology in terms of human rights seemed to have influenced the direction of this movement more strongly than any other organization. Consequently, East German instructional materials only emphasized the importance of content in this area in a sense that matched the Marxist-Leninist intent. The contents admitted were rigidly selective so as to reflect only socialist notions without positive counter-representations from the political antagonist. Logically, all positive features of content were connected with the working class and its genuine advocate, the C.P.U.S.A.,

whereas imperialistic foundations and groupings were disdained without exception to document their inferiority.

West

Situative Criteria

Now that the material concerning the description of political foundations as portrayed in the West German textbooks was presented, the situative criteria were utilized. To evolve external evidence of the most distinctive features in this area, and for the comparison of similarities and discrepancies in the next step of this inquiry, the quantification of topics was analyzed first.

With reference to federal institutions, the United States Supreme Court ranked highest. It was described precisely to make plain its pre-eminent role. The material collected in this study portrayed this body as an absolutely independent law court whose decisions were accepted throughout the country. From contrary examples shown it could be reasoned that the Supreme Court's rulings were solely based on constitutional requirements, and that its verdicts did not reflect political pressure from any side, or illegally favor a president in office. The American democracy was generally described as a system of checks and balances. Executive power and legislation functioned well, although sometimes they were legally sued by the people in taking issues to the law court.

The role of the President and of the parties were described and also shown at work. The President's actual power,

pointed out by West German books, mainly resulted from the nuclear potential he commanded rather than from any other right granted by the Constitution. The names and historic achievements of great presidents were contained in most schoolbooks. The party system and the presidential elections were being portrayed as a rule. The difficulty to define discernible features between the two leading parties was made plain. No evidence did this inquiry involve in respect to parties other than the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The photos showing institutions and party conventions gave factual information.

The F.B.I. was one agency referred to by most books. The need for a powerful system of national investigation was illustrated by the growing figures of federal crime.

The selected political foundations introduced by West German textbooks showed a high grade of differentiation. Analyses and comments provided a broad spectrum of facts from which students could draw their conclusions.

Content Analysis

The description of the political foundations by West German publishers showed seriousness and adequacy with regard to choice of words and accuracy. The terminology utilized did not have traits which could be associated with radical political tendencies, nor did it use set phrases inadequately or with improper frequency. In other words, the image of the United States as it was portrayed through political institutions was developed by a proper diction and

an adequate terminology. There were, of course, countless characteristic terms in the related areas, but not any words were found expressing propaganda or struggle. The vocabulary used for the descriptions of situations and items were adequate and accurate. It did in no way evoke or affect biased emotions on the learners' part.

Impartiality must be conferred on West German textbook publishers with regard to selecting typical items and persons as models for their portraits. Very often, the historic approach was chosen for access into the respective area. In doing so, the incidents were coherently described and illustrated by all relevant facts. Important people or rulings were literally quoted to inform the readers objectively and to enable them to come to their own conclusions. The information provided in each area was well balanced and evenly distributed to all aspects. Traits and trends were developed in an unbiased way. The student himself was asked to conduct his own analyses on the given data to compare foreign situations with his own conditions.

The presentation and interpretation of controversial opinions in this area by West German publishers should illustrate the democratic character of the country's political institutions. Throughout the nation's history, the development toward more democracy, right and justice was actively supported by the people. The established institutions guaranteed utmost safety for both the state and the citizens.

Similarities and Differences

The ascertainment of the portraits of the United States political foundations, as they had evolved by the application of external and internal criteria, showed striking discrepancies and only few similarities in the East and in the West German presentations. It was the distinctive differences in the profiles rather than the common grounds which were most conspicuous. Content analysis, strictly speaking, should proceed in terms of what-is-said and not in terms of "why the content is like that" or "how people react." This analysis is concerned with comparing single features as they evolved in the content analyses.

The Congress of the United States of America was highly esteemed in each of the two portraits. Either side described as its nominal main function the making of laws. East German publishers, however, alleged that Congress was incapable of making laws, just laws, since all real power actually lay with monopoly capital which in turn was "Big Business." As American imperialism was anti-human, the capitalists were the common class enemy. The two largest parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, were only underlings of American capitalism and bourgeoisie, and unable to articulate the people's demands for more justice. The mass media, too, were being controlled and manipulated in the sense of the imperialists. Neither Congress and the leading parties represented there, or the President of the United States exerted real power. Hence the country had practically been turned over to the ruling class. Class struggle was being stirred up by the monopoly groups to oppress, exploit, divide and discriminate

against working class and minority groups. The call for solidarity went across the country and through the races, and was being enforced by the Communist Party of the United States. Its main task was the fight against present fascism in the country in order to protect the under-privileged majority, i.e., the working class. The civil rights movement symbolized the special system of discrimination and segregation. It was therefore offensively supported by the C.P.U.S.A. Moreover, the United States only Marxist-Leninist party called for the unity of Black and white workers in the struggle against racism and imperialism.

So great a stress was laid on the Communist Party in East German textbooks that an impression arose of its dominating role. However, the students were not provided with accurate statistical data showing this party's real size and impact.

The party system in West German textbooks was described differently. Facts and figures illustrated the size and concepts of the two leading parties precisely and thoroughly. Different from the East German books, the parties' profile was not portrayed by exposing them to few arbitrarily selected conflicts. They were, rather, defined as legally operating bodies fulfilling the important constitutional task of checking and balancing presidential power in the Congress. None of the two great parties would publicly associate with, for instance, the civil rights movement, and the publishers saw no need to characterize the parties' attitude in this matter. Their role was made plain by contributions to law-making and by recalling historic achievements of their

presidents.

Other democratic institutions, such as the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, The Supreme Court, and the F.B.I., were either not regarded in East German textbooks, or they were only incoherently quoted. The vacuum that arose by ignoring indispensable foundations was presumptuously filled with operation plans of the C.P.U.S.A. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was cited repeatedly as a governmental organ that turned progressive workers into political victims by inhuman verdicts. The only reason for punishment in every case was being "un-American." As no further evidence was supplied, the impression of arbitrary proceedings arose with the reader. There was no hint in East German books at the rulings by the independent United States Supreme Court. However, this law court as well as the United States judiciary in general was given much regard in the West German textbooks. Historic rulings of the Supreme Court were analyzed, revealing at the same time the circumstances leading to the lawsuit.

The maxim-setting Constitution of the United States was not regarded in Eastern books. Consequently, the First Ten Amendments (Bill of Rights) were not mentioned either. Discussions on the basic human rights of all people were therefore not very likely to take place. The western schoolbooks, on the other hand, dealt intensively with the Bill of Rights and often called for the students' own statements on the human rights in all parts of the world.

Differences were stated with regard to illustrations and

photos from this subject area. The Eastern books showed buildings or objects with protest rallies in action disdaining the government. The western volumes preferred photos without biased texts and partial actions.

Diction and terminology in both portraits showed different features. In East German books socialist clichés and trite phrases were redundantly used. Words like freedom of speech, democracy and right were used randomly or not at all. The vocabulary used in the western books was neutral and unbiased. Occasionally, the same term was differently interpreted; "Pentagon," for example, was a synonym for war in East German books; according to West German usage it was defined as ministry of defense. This not only insinuated a semantic problem, it also revealed ideological differences. Those educationists who were mainly concerned with indoctrinating the international proletarian terminology used the incorrect first definition.

Collection of Data

Economic Matters - East

The Scientific-Technological Revolution

> Vast vistas of abundance and well-being could be opened for mankind by the scientific-technological revolution. But for the working class of the United States it has brought an intensification of exploitation and increased uncertainty as to what the future holds. Net profits of the corporations have steadily increased in the last few years, while the real wages of the workers have actually fallen due to increased inflation (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 80).

Although the term "working class of the United States," respectively the "workers," was nowhere defined it could be

assumed, according to communist nomenclature, that not only Marxist-Leninist proletarians were so designed, but all employees. Intensified exploitation affected all except the ruling class; the craftsmen as well as the scholars. The effects of inflation and unemployment were massive; an increasing number of academics had already lost their jobs. By 1973, the industrial workers' real wages had dropped by 5% since the end of 1968 (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 115). While the real wages were not growing, the profits of the corporations had grown since the introduction of automation (ibid., p. 79). In 1972, the net profits of the United States monopolies increased between twelve and nineteen per cent; in 1973, the increase was even up to twenty-six per cent. The enormous gains of the employers were achieved by rigorously cutting the expenditures on social services, medical care and education.[1] In October 1973, the unemployment rate stood at 4.8 per cent in the United States, i.e., 4.3 million people were out of work. To protest against monopoly capitalism and its misanthropic exploitation more and more workers went on world-wide strikes. In capitalistic West European countries the number of strikes kept growing. Exact figures in the East German textbooks confirmed the latest development: in 1965, 26 million, in 1969, almost 60 million, and from January to October 1970, more than 63 million people in West Europe were on strike (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p.

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[1]Heide Lipecky/Ewald Festag/Ingrid Eitlinger, English for You 7 (2. Auflage; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1976), p. 75.

115). The workers in capitalist societies utilized their basic right to strike for higher wages. At the same time, the number of strikes due to conditions arising from automation and technological change were rapidly rising, too (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 85).

Aspects of the scientific-technological revolution in highly industrialized countries were reflected in the following East German analysis:

> In the last seven years many strikes have been shaking the capitalist economy, as the workers have grown more determined to meet increased intensity of work, intensified exploitation, reduced real income, unemployment, rising living costs, and bad working conditions. These facts together with less spare time for the workers and their families have proved to be their share of the results of the scientific-technological revolution.... finance capital is only ready to use the new technological processes, provided that maximum profit can be made on them (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 75).

The immense costs to develop new technologies have tremendously accelerated the merging of corporations into gigantic concentrations of capital. Yet, automation and merging had only secured or even increased the profits of the employers. Two examples should characterize capitalist policy: Litton Industries bought out Royal Typewriter Co., shut down its two New England plants, throwing 3,500 workers out of jobs, constructed a plant in Japan, from which all typewriters for the United States were imported (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 80). - The International Harvester Company closed down eight plants in the United States, wiping out more than ten thousand jobs. This company, too, had announced the opening of a new plant in Japan (ibid.).

The profile of some other large industrial monopoly enterprises of the United States was portrayed as follows (abridged):

General Electric Company: largest electronics firm, developed the first atom bomb, has a great influence in West German firms.

General Motors Corporation (G.M.C.): largest industrial monopoly company of the capitalist world; more than 757,000 workers toil for them in many countries of the world. The corporation has a strong influence on United States policy. The former president of G.M.C. was war minister from 1953-1957.

Standard Oil Company: largest oil company in the world. The greatest opponent of Standard Oil is the Royal Dutch Shell company. However, these two monopolies had more or less agreed to share the world market between them.

Ford Motor Company: Henry Ford was one of the strongest opponents of the trade unions and supported Hitlerite fascism. By inhuman rationalization and exploitation Ford developed new methods of production and salesmanship.

Lockheed: biggest armament monopoly in the capitalist world. In 1969, 89 per cent of its orders were from the United States government which produced the "U 2" espionage plane shot down by a Soviet rocket. The F.R.G. bought the illfamed "Starfighter" from Lockheed. In spite of enormous government orders Lockheed had financial difficulties in 1970. These were a symptom of the immanent crisis of the capitalist system which Marx, Engels and Lenin discovered and predicted

(Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 86-87).

The victims of uncertain economic growth were the workers and not the monopolies. Their profits kept growing whereas the real wages of the workers were not raised. They did not only pay for the enormous expenses of using the new technology, but also financed the high costs of aggressive American foreign policy through increased living costs (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 52).

The increasing gap between rich and poor was described in the following:

> The introduction of automation and other new techniques under monopoly-capitalist conditions means less jobs and growing unemployment for the workers. This economic insecurity ... forces workers to fight still more intensively for a better living standard.... With the rise of state monopoly capitalism workers have had to fight the enemy in two forms: the employers and the state machinery dominated by them. The Government is used by the employers as an economic instrument to secure higher profits and to attack the unions (ibid.).

The East German teacher must employ the following chart:

What automation and new techniques

mean for the worker in the U.S.A.

economic insecurity: less jobs

growing unemployment

real wages not improving

profits growing by the introduction of automation

forces workers to fight against two enemies:

the employers

the state machinery dominated by them

government used to: secure profits

attack the unions

(Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 79).

The General Electric strike of 1969 had shown how the workers could fight and defeat the enemy. In October of that year, 147,000 production workers of the G.C.E. went on strike against the profit of 8,000 dollars per production worker. This fourth largest industrial company in the country made the profit without employee participation. Although the AFL-CIO tried to prevent it, the united action of dockers, car workers and communists supported the strikers. The agreement that was finally reached on the hundredth day of strike marked a great victory for the workers. It was achieved although the capitalists tried to break the strike front by every means: they sent letters to the workers in which they told them to return to work.

Every worker's home received a phone call (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 54).

The workers' demands for pay increase, equal pay for women and improved working conditions become understandable in view of the 1970 figures: "While profits have risen more than 90% take home pay has risen only 31%, but because of the increases in prices and taxes the worker actually takes home less than four years ago." (Ibid., p. 40).

To elucidate the effects science and technology could unleash, the teacher in East Germany must project this plan:

Science and technology
if properly used, could
- mean achievements in medicine
natural science

space travel

. . . . . .

- solve the problems of the future
- meet the needs of the whole mankind
- ensure man's happiness

in capitalist countries

- production is for maximum profit
- growing number of workers unemployed because of automation
- newly developed weapons - great danger to mankind

(Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 109).

The difficulty of personal problems under capitalist circumstances would be learned by the American youth when confronted with unemployment. The English textbooks used at East German schools provided examples. There was the typical case of a young General Electric worker who had lost his job. He voiced what many people felt: "I doubt whether science will ever ensure the progress and happiness of man." (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 79). The worker's bosses said he, like many others, was dismissed because automation caused thousands to be unemployed. As there was a lot of automation introduced in socialist countries also the student was urged to compare. Nobody had lost his job there. The reason for the diverging effects of the scientific-technological revolution in the East and in the West were defined by a juvenile member of the American Young Workers Liberation League:

> ... the future will depend above all on the solution of political problems, on the class struggle. The problem is in whose hands, in the hands of what class, power is to lie and to what end science will be used. As long as in our country production is

> for maximum profit instead of for maximum public goods science will create a nightmare of machine-dominated society. But it is not, really, the machines that dominate, but those who own them, the monopoly capitalists (ibid.).

The character of the social order had a strong bearing on the development of science. It could be used for profit or the good of the people. From the examples shown the students should learn that science and technology could only serve people if the society was socialist and the workers owned the means of production. Science was then used to serve humanity, whereas under capitalism it only meant maximum profit for the ruling class and more exploitation for the workers. In the United States this became visible in the foundations of multi-national corporations as well as in the trends of big farms to expand and to ruin the smaller ones. Under the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. young Americans opposed social injustice, aggressive foreign policy and domestic fascist terror. This attitude was being supported by examples of international solidarity in socialist countries abroad (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 107).

Deteriorating conditions were manifested in the scientific-technological revolution which had not brought about more leisure time for the workers under capitalism. To secure their living standard many people were compelled to work overtime. The growing squeeze also forced millions of women to seek work although their wages ran as much as one third behind those of men workers (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 82).

In particular, unemployment had affected youths severely.

However, juvenile unemployment quota was higher than the percentage for the population as a whole. The rate among the Black youths was from three to four times higher. These figures were not the result of transient fluctuations. "In large measure this is due to the failure of the educational system to prepare youth to cope with technological change; and to the racialist system of oppression in the case of Black and other minority youth." (Ibid.). The failures did not only express the economic uncertainty and deteriorating living conditions, but also with reference to educational goals of the capitalist society:

> The technological revolution in the United States is not accompanied by any revolution in education. The result is a million strong army of workers with reading, writing and counting ability of a 4th grade pupil, or less. Thus, about 10% of the labor force is functionally illiterate (ibid).

Other important economic, social and political consequences caused by the failures of the scientific-technological revolution affected the structure of the labor force. Black Americans were transformed from an agrarian to a proletarian people living mainly in the great industrial centers of the South and North. The added burdens of racist discrimination were also endured by the Blacks living in crowded ghettos.

Agriculture figures prove that due to mechanization the agricultural output per man-hour in the United States increased by fifty per cent between 1959 and 1965.

Yet the surplus production was stored not to end poverty, but to increase profits of the big companies. This antagonism was considered typical of state capitalism. "While millions

of people in the United States are suffering from hunger the government pays the farmers for the land which is no longer used for agricultural production. This is done to secure the profits of the companies." (Ibid., pp. 85-87). A photo documented the results of bad farming: soil erosion turned parts of the rich land into desert. "The promised money of the government was not invested to fight soil erosion but spent on armament." (Ibid., p. 27).

The cost of achieving greater productivity on the farms ruined millions of smaller farmers whose conditions went from bad to worse. This caused a massive migration from the country to the city which in turn negatively affected unemployment. This development was not confined to the South alone for depressed areas were also found in the North. The average hourly net income of a dairy farmer in Wisconsin in 1968 came to $1.75 an hour, a wage which barely kept him out of poverty. These developments had accelerated a growing farm revolt which was expressed in withholding products from the markets and in strikes for higher prices. The farmers' protests made the forging of a Labor-Negro Farmer alliance essential. More and more recognition was developing among the working masses, that profit-seeking big business was responsible for the growing exploitation.

> The massive Black liberation struggle, the student revolt, the tax revolt, the developing farm revolt, the growing revolt against the poisoning of man's environment, are all signs of the rise of a grand alliance of all victims of monopoly led by the working class (ibid., p. 87).

So it was only natural that the exploited workers in the

capitalist countries demanded that automation and rationalization should be utilized for the people's interest, and not on behalf of monopolists and profiteers. The communist parties and "many trade unions" had supported the workers' demands (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 75). They also had to fight these bourgeois theories that the scientific-technological revolution would eventually effect the gradual convergence of the two systems toward a higher industrial society without social differences and class struggles. However, the differences were as great as ever and even widening the gap, a conversion of socialism and capitalism was not possible.

The Space Race

The achievements in a spectacular area of science, space research, proved that only under socialism the scientific-technological revolution was being carried out by man for man for the benefit of the whole population. This was exemplified by the exploration of the moon. Man's first flight to the moon was described accurately in East German textbooks as an extraordinary human and technical achievement. America's success was based on the preceding Soviet investigations which added much to the knowledge of the moon. The driving force of the United States government to concentrate the American space research on the lunar expedition was to catch up with the Soviet Union who previously succeeded in launching the first artificial satellite. "The President of the U.S.A. proclaimed as a national goal that an American should be the first man on the moon." (Festag/Kerl, English

for You 6, p. 71). At the same time, many American citizens began to ask themselves why the government could not solve domestic problems such as hunger, disease, unemployment, housing and more aid for the poor. The answer lay in the goals of American imperialism:

> But above all the research program was stimulated by the military needs of U.S. imperialism and its profit-seeking corporations. While the Soviet Union was systematically exploring space in order to improve man's knowledge about the earth, for the American imperialists the quest for knowledge was second to the flight for profit and prestige (ibid., p. 72).

As the American spacecraft industry was closely connected with the arms firms both branches made huge profits through expanding arms-spendings. The massive increase of arms expenditure entailed drastic cuts in social spending, which meant that the country's domestic problems remained unsolved. These aspects should show how the ruling class abused the results of research and the achievements of American scientists and astronauts for their own reactionary political interests. A military aspect of manned spaceflight concerned future means for command and control of the global strike forces. Daring Apollo projects were being undertaken in spite of enhanced danger for man which ensured prestige and military strength.

In contrast solely humanitarian aims characterized the Soviet space program. "Only under Socialism, when science and technology will serve the people, not privilege and profit will man be able not only to conquer space but to solve the problems of his own world." (Ibid.).

Economic Matters - West

The Scientific-Technological Revolution

> ... perhaps the single most important explanation of the comparative speed of American development, has been the national rejection of dogmatic preconceptions about the nature of the social and economic order. America has had the good fortune not to be an ideological society.[1]

The notion of the United States as a country with a free and democratic society was generally accepted in all examined West German textbooks. By the use of first-hand material the books tried to facilitate access to basic facts of American life. American society was presented in the language in which it expressed itself. All books contained extracts from well-known American papers, monograph studies of American civilization, write-ups of statistical data and also presented photographs, cartoons, maps and like materials. The documentary texts exemplarily represented different views which contributed to background information, specific data or summary statements. The authentic material was clearly separated from comments and exercises. The catalog of economic matters included different areas such as the nation's territorial and historical institutions, the westward movement, Big Business and modern management, transportation development, space research and automation.

Parallel to the presentation of East German material, West German textbook data about scientific-technological

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[1]Kurt Böhm & Heinz Pöhr, The Changing Scene in Britain and the USA Oberstufenlesebuch (3. Auflage; Frankfurt am Main/West Germany: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1972), p. 151.

developments were collected and grouped first in this study. They were followed by evidance related to space industry.

The implications of the scientific-technological evolution were considered important by West German textbook publishers. Many authors preferred the historic method for their analyses of developments and incidents. In this way, the essentials were selected, and only those aspects were analyzed which had an economic bearing on the present situation or on single cases. The most momentous impact of recent developments was seen in connection with labor.

> The great selling point of America is "freedom." America is a free country, it is part of the "free" world, in contrast to the communist world. But what is really meant by this freedom? Imperceptibly, it has come to mean consumer freedom.... freedom to buy anything and to go anywhere. For work, on the other hand, there is no longer any concept of freedom at all.[1]

In the recent past, most people were dissatisfied with their working lives since nearly all work was only done for external reward. The individual did not find inherent satisfaction with his labor. This dissatisfaction resulted from automation which, in turn, was absolutely necessary for industrialists and farmers.

The prices of labor had gone high for several reasons. In the long run of history, many Americans had supported a national policy of giving away a great part of the nation's land to individual settlers. If the new settler farmed the land for five years, it then belonged to him. City employers

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[1]Elmar Witt, Topical Texts 5 (Stuttgart/West Germany: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1973), p. 54.

therefore, had to pay good wages to prevent good workers from fleeing into the country. This policy was one of the main reasons of high wages in the United States.[1]

New and better machines were opening up new frontiers at the beginning of the century. They decisively improved farming. The transition of the United States from an agricultural into an industrial country came in 1815. It was due to revolutionary developments in the techniques of transportation and communication. Until 1815, the Indian resistance had hindered the westward progression of the new American settlers. The expansion of the communication network went through three main phases: the turnpike era, the canal boom and the triumph of the railroad (Clément/Temerson, p. 54).

Provided with the basic facts, West German students were next informed about pending problems of the United States transportation system. "While some truckers are rolling in money, a great deal of the rail mileage is bankrupt, and much of the rest is deteriorating physically and financially." (Ibid., p. 62).

While developing their communication system and their natural sources, the Americans made many mistakes. The main error was that Americans did not care for their land as wisely as the farmers of many other countries. "But today ... people in the United States are trying to learn how to use their land properly." (Röhr, p. 11).

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[1]Heinz Röhr, The Good Companion, Teil 5 (Frankfurt am Main/West Germany: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1973), p. 10.

This carelessness was explained by the country's affluence and illustrated by figures:

> The territory of the United States constitutes only 7% of the earth's surface. It only contains 6% of the world's population but furnishes 25 to 30% of the world's goods and services.... The United States is the only nation able to produce its own food (Clément/Temerson, p. 73).

The outstanding significance of economic power and wealth was richly documented by statistical data. These showed that out of the thirty foremost corporations in the world, twenty-four are American.

Other contributions delineated the role of prodigious American economy at an earlier stage. In connection with the country's economy, a remarkable analysis of the causes of the Civil War was found in one textbook. The industrialization of the Northern States required import taxes to shield them from European competition while the Southern economy feared to lose its foreign markets for tobacco and cotton. The Southerners had every reason to fear that the European economic powers would retaliate against the new American protectionist policy by heavily taxing Southern cotton and tobacco. "It was this basic disparity in the pace of the two companies which led to the secession of the Southern States, as much as the ideological question of slavery." (Ibid., p. 85).

In portraying the different shades in the profile of the United States, the schoolbooks emphasized the fact that it is a country of great contrasts with regard to climate, size and landscape. It is both a land of abundance of agricultural products and the most highly industrialized country

in the world.

In comparison with other industrial states, automation is highly advanced and more general than in Europe. These circumstances and the fact that the people of the United States are a mixture of many different races and nationalities must be included in discussions about national problems.

The role of automation was chronologically reviewed in its different phases (Beilhardt, pp. 44-46). Henry Ford was regarded as the discoverer of a new economic principle. "His idea was to sell more cars by paying high wages to the workers and reducing high prices." (Ibid., p. 46). The assembly line cut the time needed to put together a car from fourteen hours to one hour and thirty-three minutes, and the price of Model T from $1,200 to $295 (ibid.). This newly developed economic principle allowed Ford Motor Company to pay a minimum wage of five dollars for all its workers and to cut the day's work from nine to eight hours in 1914. The fact that other employers were unable to keep their workers for two dollars a day made the students realize the effect that the new Ford business policy could have ruined America's industry. In addition to the problems of monopoly and competition, the problems of assembly line work and their implications emerged. Through the criticism of assembly line workers the human aspects of profitably automated mass production were elucidated. In spite of good pay the workers complained about the constant push at high speed and the lack of chance for promotion. The management was made responsible for the schedule and the way a job was set up. Unions and strikes had not proved to be

very effective.

The main problems of many industrial workers were summarized as follows: in spite of good social conditions the workers were left with the continual feeling of dissatisfaction, of being pushed and misunderstood. The assembly line worker completely lacked the satisfaction others got from their work. Just as advertising creates dissatisfaction, so does assembly line work.

> But dissatisfaction is no mere toy; it is the stuff of revolution.... Critics of Marx, and of New Left theorists who follow Marx, insist that Marx was wrong because in America people are contented with their work. In Marx's theory, the exploited industrial worker derived no satisfaction from his labor, but was spurred on solely by hunger and other wants. Today there may be fewer "exploited workers" in a purely economic sense.... But increasingly, all work is done for external reward only; it has no inherent satisfactions.... (Witt, p. 54).

Recent trends indicated that more and more people were dissatisfied with their working lives exactly as Marx had predicted. Only material and psychic rewards kept them from open rebellion. But the indifference with which so many individuals did their duty was regarded as one kind of worker rebellion (ibid., p. 55).

West German textbooks referred to various attempts that were made in the United States to overcome the problems of automation which could make the assembly line worker redundant.

> Two per cent of the population ... will in discernible future be able to produce all the goods and services needed to feed, clothe and run our society with the aid of machines.... Two per cent will do the world's work! (Böhm/Röhr, p. 167).

These problems were international and not solely confined

to the United States. Similar issues affected all industrialized countries and open societies. Various theories were contrived to solve or mitigate the problems. Better education, for instance, would help only if the worker entered a different career. Higher wages and shorter hours might allow him greater enjoyment of his leisure time. A rotation system between jobs could be facilitated only in cooperation with the management.

> Modern mass production techniques ... set men to tasks that make a joke of their real skills and keep them there for life. They destroy their initiative and reduce their ability of self-expression to the language of machines. The human being ... is also losing his right to use his head .... (Lechler, p. 214).

The conflict between low-price automated mass production on the one hand and growing unemployment and personal dissatisfaction on the other challenged the workers' unions and the government. Labor's attitude toward automation appeared contradictory: the unions saw technology as foreboding a nation of unemployed; yet the same unions insisted that proper social adjustment could guarantee full employment. Walther Reuther quoted exact figures at the AFL-CIO convention in 1963: "... 41 million new jobs must be created in the next ten years just to be certain that unemployment does not become more severe." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 168). At the same convention George Meany stated that automation was a real threat and a curse to society rather than a blessing. Since every big corporation was in a merciless competition to produce more with less labor, the consequences for the national economy might be serious. In a few years all the

production needed for the country could possibly be furnished by less than twenty-five per cent of the manpower available. To meet that challenge the unions proposed to improve the vital purchasing power that would mean new jobs, tax relief, public works of all kinds, a higher minimum wage, a thirty-five-hour week or less then and later on (ibid.).

According to another West German textbook, the future of American labor unions was inextricably linked to the issue of automation (Alpers/Voges, p. 143). Since automation drastically altered the nature of the American industrial plant, the unions were faced with the need to create new jobs and retrain workers in new skills together with management and government. The agonizing problem of adjustment to technological change was examined also by the President's Advisory Committee. This body had set up guidelines in this area: automation and technological progress were regarded as essential to the nation; progress had to be achieved without the sacrifice of human values and with adequate safeguards against economic injury, consonant with the principles of the free society (ibid.). The question of method continually arose in the search for compromises. The gradual fading out of jobs was generally accepted as the most human partial solution of adjustment.

Another serious problem of automation was presented by the unions. They feared the loss of "fellow feeling" and solidarity of interest on which union loyalty was based. Assembly line work caused the familiar work group to disintegrate. The new technology began to have bearings on the

effectiveness of strikes. Although the right to strike remained basic, the decision to strike was being taken less frequently.

When dealing with the economic structure of the United States, much attention was given to its most powerful elements, the big corporations. Their change from one-man trusts toward collectively run corporations was traced in more than one West German textbook.

> Capitalism is equated with democracy and corporate oligarchs tend to feel guilty when they run their companies as one-man operations.... As a result "the boss" has been replaced by "top management" ... understood as a group consisting of as many as a dozen executives.... There is something similar to what the Russians call collective leadership (Clément/Temerson, pp. 92-94).

Companies and individual owners were exemplarily portrayed to illustrate that this was not so at the beginning of capitalism. The then captains of industry were in control of American business. Historic facts were revealed to show that American industry had undergone a significant transformation by 1900. After the railroad system had created a national market by the beginning of the 20th century, major industries were dominated by a few firms which had become great. One of the greatest trusts was Standard Oil which in 1882 controlled ninety-five per cent of all refineries. This example alarmed the federal government and caused it to intervene and to pass Antitrust Acts banning exclusive sales contracts, interlocking directorates, mergers and like operations. The effectiveness of the Antitrust Acts was uneven. Occasionally these laws upheld free trade, but often they were able

only to abolish the apparent structures of trusts, but could not prevent hidden reconstitutions of these same structures (ibid., p. 79).

The United Fruit Company was selected to exemplify negative aspects of free trade. In Central America, this monopoly company ruined independent planters, opposed organized labor, supported coups, exploited workers and played ball with dictators to build up its prodigious banana empire for maximum profits. "It is an empire built on the stoop labor of six republics - seventy years of central American poverty and North American dividend checks." (Ibid., p. 82).

To characterize the type of profiteer who had ruled at the top of a ruthless big corporation, Washington Duke, a Southern tobacco manufacturer, was portrayed.

> Using methods typical of the era, Duke was highly successful in crushing the opponents; he gave rebates to wholesalers who bought only his products, he undersold his competitors in their own marketing areas until the weaker companies went bankrupt (ibid., p. 87).

In 1911 the United States Supreme Court ruled that Duke's holding must be broken up.

John D. Rockefeller was cited as a capitalist who made his money by ruthless business methods. He used his enormous trust to defeat small firms until he had gained control of ninety per cent of all American oil refineries. In 1911 the National Oil Trust was dissolved by the state (Beilhardt, p. 55).

Developments in the recent past showed similar effects which resulted from the enormous size of giant companies.

Monopolies dictated prices or forced rival business to shut down or to be taken over. They also sometimes exercised undue influence on the government to act according to business interests.

The problem of the limited control that a free society has was also treated. The government could nationalize corporations, but then the profit incentive would go. The employees themselves could influence working conditions and costs by strike actions, but had little influence otherwise (Lechler, p. 203).

The problem of mergers was also discussed as a positive aspect. Big trusts aimed at accumulating capital for investment which might result in reducing production costs. Only in the case of price fixing and the exercise of undue influence on the administration the federal government occasionally interfered.

In spite of existing Antitrust Laws, undesirable business policy could not be forestalled. Doubtful business ethics might be the driving-force for firms to produce destructive weapons and pesticides, conspire to fix high prices, keep safety standards low, produce goods that wear out too quickly, and use deceptive packaging. More effective measures should be taken against these companies by the government (ibid.). On the other hand, West German textbooks presented businessmen and corporations that put large amounts of money into foundations which sponsored all kinds of projects. Rockefeller, Ford, Guggenheim, Carnegie and other names represented this group of benefactors.

The modern structure of big corporations and their capitalistic principles were adjusted to the new needs. Profits were used to pay higher taxes and dividends to the shareholder. Most of the surplus capital was needed to improve plants or to undertake new projects. This meant that large corporations were no longer dependent on the savings of individuals for the new capital they constantly needed. Due to this fact "... the Marxian 'capitalist' is quietly disappearing." (Ibid., p. 201).

A different market situation in the recent past conditioned the policy of the large corporations. Since they serviced mass markets, it was in their interest to have purchasing power as widely distributed as possible.

Larger markets presumably meant larger profits. Never before in history had capitalism shown a greater interest that poverty be abolished and social problems be solved.

> Not often in history have the interests of the holders of economic power coincided with those of the masses.... This is a new element in American history - a far cry from the days when corporations fought social security, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions. Today they do not. Not because they have become philanthropist or idealist - they haven't. They are merely discovering that, when social problems are solved, the size of their markets increases. Henry Ford prophesied this in 1917; now, this forecast is coming to be fact (ibid., pp. 201-202).

Although the Marxian capitalist was quietly disappearing, capitalism was not dying. West German textbooks portrayed the growth of some large corporations. They came to the conclusion that the former type of individual capitalist had been replaced by the big shareholder. The trend toward

solving social problems by common efforts was sometimes retarded by a minority of small proprietors. Since several million individual businessmen still operated as small owners did in the days of Karl Marx, inappropriate social and working conditions had not yet disappeared everywhere in the United States (ibid., p. 202).

Dissatisfaction with immoral business and the American society was expressed in a declaration summing up the views of two hundred representative students on campuses across the United States in 1969. They criticized competition as the most efficient means for extracting the best efforts of men and profit as the engine of growth. They feared that merciless competition would not allow the brotherly dream of "all are equal" to come true. They demanded stronger efforts to improve the quality of life by developing human potentialities, and by placing less emphasis on materialism. "... we dissipate our talents and money on our toothpaste formulas - but we have built only seven medical schools in the past ten years and need at least a hundred more." (Ibid., pp. 222-223). The students seemed to disregard the point that if the principles of profit and competition were abolished, there would be much less money paid in taxes, and costly social projects which the students called for could not be carried out. Even some present social achievements could not be maintained.

The representative interviews expressed the students' social ideals of equal chances for all, more priority of humanitarian and social projects before business projects, equal distribution of wealth, an ideal sort of communism:

> What we want is a society where people don't have to flip out - a society in which a large chunk of the population does not have to fight for survival while another chunk fights what to do with its money (ibid., p. 223).

The Space Race

> It has been possible for man to succeed in landing on the moon and yet he has so far failed to solve the problems of race and minorities in this world. In a time of unprecedented affluence problems of hunger, poverty, unemployment and old age are still unsolved (ibid., p. 132).

Mankind's progress and failure were often treated in West German instructional materials. Imperfections and shortcomings of human nature were portrayed as the real counterforces to progress. The antagonism between scientific progress and social injustice did not result from technological incompetence, but was caused by prejudice, blind passion, indifference and stubborn egotism. Student unrest and drugs, violence and flight from reality were alarming symptoms of youth's reaction to these contradictions (ibid.).

West German English book publishers acknowledged the high degree of scientific and technological progress in the United States. The Soviet-American space race, since its beginning in October 1957, was accurately presented. The Apollo/Soyuz project was regarded as an encouraging step toward strengthening East-West cooperation. Future multinational missions could cut costs of space activities. The struggle for prestige was alluded to in reports about the Sputnik-shock to the United States, her people and to the American scientists who had believed they were first in space science.

West German schoolbooks at the higher level chiefly dealt with the economic and social effects of the United States space program. Statistical data furnished the basic facts by which the gigantic size of space flight industry was illustrated. Some 5,500 firms with several million employees had temporarily surpassed the size of car industry. Over a hundred American colleges and universities were offering special courses in space science to provide industry with well-trained young people (Beilhardt, p. 96).

In later West German English textbooks, the setbacks of aerospace industry were analyzed. It is estimated that there is a total of sixty-five thousand unemployed researchers, engineers and technicians in the United States.... The areas most affected are space, defense, aeronautics and electronics." (Clément/Temerson, p. 161). The crisis was due to the fact that federal funds which so far had supported several corporations, universities and research laboratories became scarce or remained stationary. Many of these corporations were unable to diversify and acquire a civilian market. Statistical data were furnished to particularize the regressive development. A few corporations had run out of cash also. In order to show the causes that led aerospace industry to such a sorry state economic and structural arguments were presented. Key factors were high research and development outlays, extremely high working capital requirements, a shrinking market, and a generally unsatisfactory contracting relationship with the Pentagon (ibid., p. 105).

Since many questions about the future of aerospace

research and industry in general remained unanswered, the American public became more and more hostile to large space or aeronautics programs. On the other hand, by financial cutbacks in this area the funding of programs to solve social and environmental problems had risen. The changed job market, however, could not absorb the increased unemployment. The example of an unemployed physicist who successfully started his second career as a policeman was used to illustrate social and economic problems which had arisen for thousands of over-specialized people. They also raised the national unemployment rate (ibid., p. 164).

Treatment of Criteria

East

Situative Criteria

With regard to economic matters, the effects of the scientific-technological revolution and space research were treated with priority by East German publishers. They pointed out American discrepancies in concepts, developments and results and compared them with socialist achievements. The contrastive method allowed them to portray the respective features more distinctly. With regard to the United States, the collected material resulted in a negative impression. The anti-American attitude was systematically developed by a biased selection of topics and figures. This research did not produce relevant evidence which portrayed the image of the United States in this area positively. The application of situative criteria developed, for the most

part, negative statements and descriptions in East German English language textbooks. The general tone in the books created an anti-American atmosphere. However, the selection and presentation of biased data was specifically directed against the ruling class. All statements strictly distinguished between the American working class and its enemy, the imperialistic profiteers without clearly marking the demarcation line between the two classes. They repeatedly alleged that automation under monopoly-capitalist conditions must logically cause fewer jobs and growing unemployment among the workers and huge profits for the monopolists. The figures presented to prove the statements were vague. They provided percentages instead of exact data. The information for 1970 showed that the profits had risen more than ninety per cent. However, while the takehome pay had increased by thirty-one per cent there was no real surplus for the workers. Because of the increases in prices and taxes the workers actually took home less than four years ago (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 40). What they really did take home was not mentioned.

Average wage figures for a skilled worker were nowhere communicated. The account made in 1973 alleged that the industrial worker's real wages had dropped by five per cent since 1968 while the net profits of the corporations had steadily increased (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 115). In 1973, for example, the increase was up to twenty-six per cent (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 75). Again, no absolute figures were given to indicate the workers' wages and standard

of living precisely.

East German book-writers contended that automation and technological progress in capitalist countries were abused by the companies for maximum profits of the owners. Regardless of social disadvantages, American firms merged and exported production overseas to reduce costs. Thus they increased the growth of domestic unemployment. To illustrate this development the books provided exact figures. However, in the case of Litton Industries, the students were not informed about the leading role of the company in its area. Its high standard of producing economically resulted in low prices. This, in turn, secured reasonable selling rates in the United States and preserved the jobs for many American workers who were involved in servicing the products.

The Eastern selection of typical big corporations reinforced the negative image. The industrial and financial power of these corporations served East German book authors to denounce the capitalist policy of increasing intensity of work, intensifying exploitation and aggravating unemployment. The portraits ignored indisputable progress as it materialized in low weekly working hours, improved social achievements and the inalienable right to strike and similar democratic privileges. In the case of Lockheed single industrial products were used to slander the entire system which stood behind it: the "illfamed Starfighter" stood for inhuman business policy. In many crashes several pilots had lost their lives.

Inhumanity was also manifested in low wages for the workers. Through this form of modern exploitation the working

class was compelled to finance America's aggressive foreign policy. On the other hand, underpay intensified the struggle against the common enemy, i.e., the employers and the state machinery controlled by them. Both government and monopoly capital attacked the workers and some of their unions. But the exploited were not defenseless. The General Electric strike of 1969 showed that the bourgeoisie could be defeated by the solidarity of all working people. Unity would guarantee final victory. The East German books called for an intensified class struggle. Since the mighty AFL-CIO union did not support the workers the "progressive" forces were summoned to forge new alliances. The C.P.U.S.A. pledged its full support of these workers.

Here a subtle differentiation became obvious. Communist German schoolbooks evidently distinguished between the better known AFL-CIO and "many other progressive unions" which were associated with the C.P.U.S.A. Both the "progressive" unions and this party had not ceased to demand united actions against illegal and inhuman pressure of the bosses by all victims of monopoly capital.

Other negative effects of the capitalist scientific-technological revolution materialized in education and agriculture. The high percentage of juvenile unemployment and Black joblessness in particular, was the result of an inappropriate concept of education. The given data of ten per cent of the labor force that was functionally illiterate

must be considered to be true.[1] But no evidence, however, was found in the books which could analyze the causes of world-wide unemployment. Nor did Eastern books communicate figures about the swelling army of young Americans who allegedly joined the C.P.U.S.A. as their strongest confederate in the struggle against the employers.

Capitalism's inherent antagonism was distinctly expressed in agriculture where mechanization brought enormous surplus production without solving the domestic problems of hunger, poverty and farm workers' migration into the cities. To secure the profits of the big companies, the bourgeois government subsidized those farmers who did not cultivate land for greater crops. East German students were reminded that class struggle was the only appropriate means to guarantee a better future. In the United States an increasing number of "progressive" forces called for revolts against the ruling minority. The working class took the leadership in the fight. The need for an organized alliance of all workers to overcome the capitalist society was reinforced. A deceptive bourgeois theory, however, speculated on a gradual convergence of the two antagonistic social systems as a result of the scientific-technological revolution. Since class struggle remained one of the basic requirements of Marxist-Leninist goals to defeat capitalism, the theory

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[1] In this connection, "Der Tagesspiegel," an independent West Berlin newspaper, of January 1st, 1978, referred to the official "Social Indicators 1976." This Washington document showed that twenty per cent of the people living in the United States are functionally illiterate and unable to fill out simple forms.

of convergence was roundly rejected.

With regard to space research incontestable success of United States' scientists and astronauts was minimized by overemphasizing the merits of the Soviets who had paved the Americans' way to the moon. The greatest contrast emerged in the different motivations for space research with the two leading world powers. It culminated in the statement that mankind could ultimately benefit only from Soviet space research. In contrast to the Russians, the American quest for knowledge was second to the fight for profit and prestige.

East German textbooks contended that the American space research was misused for political and imperialistic aims of the United States.

Public opinion and latest trends supported this notion. More and more Americans doubted the need for expensive research work because they did not see progress in mastering social problems in their own country.

Although terms like "many Americans" were only vague references, they might truly express criticism of the research program by a large segment of the population. However, the books ignored the positive results of American space research which augmented the scientists' knowledge in many areas and which enriched consumer markets with high quality commodities. Multi-national cooperation and the sharing of costs were other important aspects that were not regarded.

The illustrative means used in the category of economic matters were restricted to black-and-white photos. About

eighteen photos could be connected with the topics in each chapter. Half of them showed plants, rockets, fields and like objects; the other nine illustrated the negative effects of capitalist science and technology. For example, two photos showed a worker operating a blinking panel of buttons and switches. The caption of this photo ran as follows: "Machine-control in a highly automated plant belonging to Ford." The photo below showed workers standing in a long queue. Its caption read: "Unemployment, one of the results of the scientific-technological revolution as introduced in the U.S.A." (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 76). The following captions were found under two photos about agriculture in the United States: "Here the surplus production of wheat is stored, not to end poverty but to increase the profits of the big companies." The photo with the huge silos was opposite one that showed men standing in a line: "Unemployed Black farm-workers queueing for free food provided by charitable societies." (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 86). Photos and text portrayed the impression of enormous profits of a few monopolists while the great army of capitalist victims were to be provided with free food by charitable societies. Obviously, the government or other responsible local authorities did not look after the unemployed workers.

Content Analysis

The terminology used to delineate the effects of the scientific-technological revolution in the United States was allocated to the areas of automation, unemployment, inflation

and exploitation. Since automation under capitalist conditions was synonymous for unemployment, the following attributes were almost always connected to these catchwords: increase of profits, capitalist, inhuman working conditions, toil, bad working hours, work overtime, real wages, strike, progressive unions, intensity of work, reduced real income, rising living costs, economic insecurity, oppression, state monopoly, capitalism, enemy, employers, state machinery, common enemy, class struggle. Each of these terms and several similar words were used in connection with a negative description of a related item in the United States. With reference to conditions in socialist countries, however, the terms adopted a positive meaning. They were repeatedly used whenever they described deteriorating conditions or deplorable developments in a capitalist society. For instance, precise statistical data referred to the number of strike days in the capitalist West, maximum profits of the monopolists and pay cuts of the working class. But accuracy was lacking in the reports on the profits of the entrepreneurs and the hourly wage level of the workers. Instead of exact figures only percentages were presented. They facilitated the manipulation of figures and made disadvantageous international comparison impossible. Huge profits of the owners and de facto losses of the working class were used to corroborate the allegation of inhuman working conditions under capitalism. The widening social gap resulted in a growing number of strikes and demands for more social justice. The absence of strikes and distinctive social differences in

socialist countries were used to portray communist superiority.

East German textbooks concealed accurate data concerning wages and living standard in the United States. It is generally known that wages and salaries in industrialized capitalist countries rank highest. On the basis of all relevant factors, real take home pay, purchasing power and spending power of the working class in the United States and in communist societies should have been compared to gain more objective findings. However, a comparative analysis based on accurate and representative figures was nowhere found in East German schoolbooks.

The choice of themes in this category was confined to automation and space research. All the portraits showed negative traits and held no hope for a better future. This could only be realized by a socialist society. The antagonism in a capitalistic society - surplus production and unsolved problems of poverty and unemployment - was only delineated by friend-foe clichés. Social contrasts were not sufficiently elucidated by unbiased analyses which included all aspects of a free industrial society. All the selected situations were destructive. In this way the demand for radical change or revolution was reinforced. But revolt could be brought about only by an intensified class struggle. In compliance with the educational aims, all the features of the United States image in the instructional materials for East German students had to be negative. Thus the need for an aggressive class struggle had to be substantiated. Facts and figures which could

have proved advantages or even the superiority of the capitalist society over socialism had consequently no place in East German schoolbooks. The profile of the United States, as it was developed in these areas, showed the negative features in more general terms; individualizing portraits remained to be added in later stages of this dissertation. Intent and content of the contributions on scientific-technological progress showed parallels to comparisons in the preceding subcategory: the need for class struggle was accentuated; capitalism had to be replaced by socialism; the books presented arbitrarily selected examples by which the white American society was discredited. An unfavorable portrait of the United States was created by overemphasizing single negative features which were then opposed to utopian traits of the communist society.

West

Situative Criteria

From the application of the situative criteria to West German textbook contents had expressed a concentration on three topics.

The challenge of a free society by automation, the national unemployment rate of approximately 5.5 per cent and the role of the large companies were discussed with priority. All commentators defended the democratic state as it had been developed by and for a free society. The basic rights of freedom of belief, opinion and the press were not even questioned. Thus an unlimited selection of controversial views

and analyses were contained in the schoolbooks. The majority of articles, monograph studies, excerpts, write-ups of statistical data, illustrations and like materials originated from well-known American authors and other sources.

Opposite views were evenly distributed throughout the western books. The situative criteria were employed first to ascertain the nature of the United States image in this area. The collected material evolved a highly differentiated portrait. For the presentation and explanation of materials, most publishers chose the historic approach. The employment of illustrative materials played only a subordinate role. Introductory information and basic data were generally submitted first. Those West German books which dealt with topics about the United States more comprehensively (Catching up with America, The Changing Scene in Britain and the USA, Modern Life A4/B3, Learning English B2, Topical Texts 5, The Good Companion Teil 5, Britain and America) gave priority to the main issues of automation and unemployment. Other crucial problems were interpreted by means of historic facts and figures. In this way the close interrelation of new farming, city flight and high wages was explained. The lack of care for their land and the natural sources together with a feeling of abundance induced the ancestors of the present generations to commit serious errors. The consequences of such an attitude had affected the country for a long time.

In one textbook, Catching up with America, the dominant role of economy at an earlier stage of development was even connected with the Civil War. Other books tended to focus on

the political and racial aspects of this war.

Henry Ford was regarded as the first pioneer on the way to automation, its blessings and curses. Phenomena connected with mass production, economic growth, wages, employment and unemployment, social services and assembly line work were reviewed throughout all stages of their development.

Statistical data and exact figures were presented to prove the technological and social progress which was influenced by assembly line production. On the other hand, deplorable effects of automation and egoistic striving for financial power of merciless individuals were also included in the analyses. Automation continually caused new problems. These had to be countered by common efforts of both employers and employees. In addition to incontestable benefits for mankind the scientific-technological process also caused unsolved problems for the individual. Mass production techniques caused the personal alienation of the worker from his product and destroyed his personal skills and talents. Thus automation strengthened the common activities of the workers and their unions to reinforce the call for more convenient working conditions. Noticeably, the demand for better conditions and social improvement ranked above the claims for higher wages. Compared to earlier stages, the right to strike, although not questioned, was less often exercised by organized workers in the recent past. This development might reflect the employees' limited influence on management. The role of the unions was defined as constructive and cooperative. They were portrayed as the workers' legal representatives

and as the partners of the employers. After having legalized the basic rights of the laborers, the unions' policy prevented open rebellion against social injustice. Recently symptoms of a silent rebellion were occasionally perceptible. They resulted from general dissatisfaction with the working man's life (Witt, p. 55). Compared to previous conditions, the workers enjoyed immense progress. The development was illustrated by contrasting examples. They indicated the role which the freely elected government and Congress had played by passing antitrust acts. Reckless striving for economic power and a lack of business ethics of a few profiteers and corporations typified the Marxian capitalist and his unfair business policy. But social and economic improvements soon began to affect the market. Increasing masses of consumers stimulated the big corporations to adjust to the new situation.

The self-complacent capitalist was being replaced by modern top management and shareholders. The transition toward more social forms of modern capitalism was occasionally retarded by a relatively large number of small proprietors. Spokesmen in the campaign for drastic reforms were American students who voiced their criticism by demanding an ideal sort of communism as a means for more social justice (Lechler, pp. 222-223).

With regard to aerospace industry, scientific-technological progress and negative social effects were closely connected.

The quest for discovery and scientific advancement was regarded as the driving-force of research and not the striving

for international prestige.

Soon criticism arose in the United States. People questioned the need for the enormous public expenditure. The unsolved problems of unemployment and underemployment resulted from shrinking markets. Domestic and international trends were additional factors for further setbacks in this sensitive branch of the United States economy. On the other hand, financial cutbacks in the space budget had only shown moderate effects on social reforms. Appropriate means to reduce the unemployment rate of about 5.5 per cent had not yet been employed by the government.

The application of external evidence in this subcategory substantiated the endeavor of the West German publishers to present a balanced selection of representative contributions. Within state guidelines, they reflected diverse views and approaches. In this way a differentiated portrait of the features of the United States economic matters was constituted. Statistical data, charts and figures were exact reproductions which contained all facts of publication.

With reference to strikes and the workers' so-called silent rebellion the West German textbooks did not furnish accurate data. Only trends were shown which indicated a decreasing tendency for strikes. The percentage of Black people among the unemployed was not differentiated here. The necessary material for this detail was submitted in the sections dealing with social affairs.

The use of photos was minimal in all books examined. In comparison with corresponding topics about Great Britain and

the Commonwealth, the percentage of illustrative materials was not smaller yet. None of the photos stimulated negative feelings.

The exact number of photos concerning economic matters was: Catching up with America = 8; The Good Companion Teil 5 = 5; The Changing Scene in Britain and the USA = 3; Learning English B2 = 2; Learning English Modern Life A4/B3 = 1.

Content Analysis

The criteria for content analysis were applied to ascertain the nature of the United States portrait in this area. By examining the terminology and certain features one obtained clues to the intent of the publications. Intent and book content were then compared with one another. All western books mainly presented texts originating from American sources. The lexical quality and a possible quantification of single key words were regarded important for content analysis. The perusal of the texts verified an appropriate diction and interpretation in all contributions. Ideological words bearing undertones of bias or aggression were not found in the western books. Texts expressing radical views, or quotations containing pejorative terms, were correctly marked as such and soon opposed to contributions with a more neutral diction. The terminology used was accurate and always adequate to the descriptions. This finding also applied to captions of illustrative materials.

As was previously stated, the writer's intent can be influenced by omissions or quantifications of topics. From

this research emerged neither an accumulation nor an omission of relevant themes. The redundance of contributions in serious leading American newspapers and magazines made a selection necessary. Although any choice of texts must ultimately be subjective, acceptability was sustained by critical comparisons of major topics in different books. The research concentrated on great issues such as automation, unemployment and big business. Within this frame a large variety of controversial articles was located. By opposing different views, the plurality of minds and convictions was sufficiently reflected. The book material concerning economic matters was informative and provided generally accepted data for further study and discussion. The publishers of West German instructional materials distributed the contributions evenly and fairly. Many issues were extended by critical annotations and questions to stimulate the students' own reflections.

Similarities and Differences

Economic matters were almost always closely related to political concepts. Since the authors of the selected articles belonged to socio-political systems with antagonistic structures their views must necessarily be conflicting. West and East German educational concepts had to adjust to entirely different social, economic and political systems after 1945. Therefore most common bonds were soon almost completely dissolved.

Similarities of topics in East and West German textbooks were only found with regard to certain aspects of the scientific-

technological revolution. Automation, unemployment, space industry and the large corporations' business policy were selected for the portraits of the United States in both East and West. However, the books employed entirely different methods for their analyses and came to contrary conclusions. The highest degree of agreement was found in respect to increased criticism of the United States aerospace research program by American citizens. East and West German publishers also agreed that the related problem of unemployment, underemployment and poverty remained unsolved. But both sides assumed dissimilar premises and employed different criteria. They obviously pursued contrary pedagogical objectives. East German book writers imputed the lack of progress in solving domestic social problems solely to the reluctance of the bourgeois government to support the working class. In the case of space research gigantic sums of money were invested only to increase the profits of the capitalists and to enhance international prestige. Technological progress was misused for the aggressive imperialistic global strategy. After the success of lunar projects research was curbed and several thousand scientists and qualified workers lost their positions. Since the United States educational concept had failed to endow young people with better education, more knowledge and higher skills in time, the dismissed labor force of aerospace industry added to the great army of unemployed in the United States.

The West German textbooks, on the other hand, regarded the quest for scientific and technological progress as the

chief driving-force for the United States.

After the successful landing on the moon, criticism increased in connection with permanent public expenditure for further space projects. The need to sustain intensive space research was soon reduced. World-wide markets for aeronautic and military equipment began to shrink. The call for reinforced efforts to solve social problems here on earth strengthened.

The causes for unemployment were also analyzed differently in the two types of books. According to East German publishers, they originated from capitalism's inherent principle of class system: the ruling class and the exploited working class. Thus unemployment was primarily seen as a socio-political problem that could only be solved by overthrowing capitalism. It was associated with all branches of the United States economic development and was principally defined by the same arguments.

According to East German textbooks, automation was always a synonym for unemployment and huge profits of the capitalists. It could have brought progress and relief to the workers, as in socialist countries, but it did not improve the working lives of the Americans. Automation was abused by the monopolists as a tool for maximum profits. They paid low wages to increase the owners' surplus and to finance the capitalists' aggressive imperialistic policy. Merger was promoted to secure higher profits although thousands of jobs were lost.

The large corporations practiced inhumanity by means of

intensified exploitation, increased intensity of work and de facto smaller wages. To substantiate these allegations, large companies (Lockheed, Ford) were only negatively portrayed and occasionally defamed. Percentages were used instead of accurate statistical data. This thwarted a precise identification of economic growth and international comparison. Whenever negative incidents such as strikes and unemployment rates were discussed, accurate information was furnished by the Eastern books.

West German publishers presented enough significant historical incidents to develop an objective portrait of the United States. The plurality of a non-ideological free society was mirrored by a great variety of views on topical issues. The main concern of the West German publishers was to submit representative materials which reflected different views. Preferably diverging American self-expressions were compiled for the treatment of a topic. Additional background information was provided which was based on historical and statistical data. Positive as well as negative effects were frankly displayed. Developments and trends were documented by all available facts and data. A critical and unbiased evaluation of all evidence and the personal verdict of the students were regarded as important for the development of individual opinion.

According to articles in West German schoolbooks automation did not always and necessarily mean unemployment or exploitation of the individual worker and huge profits for the employer. For example, Henry Ford's assembly line work

created more wealth for most Americans and resulted in several thousand new positions. Subsequently personal alienation, monotony of work, lack of promotion and like social problems arose. On the other hand, the increase of wages and the gradual improvement of working conditions since the beginning of the industrial revolution enhanced the prosperity of millions of Americans. Exploitation by the Marxian capitalist almost entirely vanished. It continued only into the beginning of the twentieth century with smaller proprietors. The workers' right to strike was emphasized. This inalienable privilege strengthened the employees' position in their defense against managers' injustice. Modern management in teams of up to twelve executives had long since replaced capitalist oligarchy. Shareholders exercised an increasing influence on business policy. The federal government and the Supreme Court repeatedly ruled against mergers when free competition was jeopardized.

The American unions were also characterized differently. East German books denounced the workers' largest union, AFL-CIO, as reactionary and distinguished it from "progressive unions" which were strongly supported by the C.P.U.S.A. The leftist unions were being attacked by the big corporations and the state machinery which was controlled by them. While underpay, dissatisfaction and exploitation of the working class increased, the demand for class struggle and revolution was actively supported by the "progressive" forces. The forging of new alliances under the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. and unions was the main task.

In contrast, the AFL-CIO was accepted by western publishers as the greatest free union of America's workers. The books quoted critical statements on topical issues by union leaders and emphasized their cooperative role as successful partners for better working conditions.

It was only in East German textbooks that high rates of juvenile unemployment were solely connected with the inadequacy of the United States educational system. West German books considered the complexity of different factors which caused the unemployment rate.

The antagonism of affluence and poverty was illustrated in East German books by examples from the field of agriculture. The bourgeois government was condemned for subsidizing capitalist farmers in order to limit farming for price manipulations. West German books did not deal with this allegation.

Another discrepancy emerged in the communists' rejection of the bourgeois theory of gradual convergence of the two different social systems. This hypothesis was not discussed in the western schoolbooks either.

The illustrative materials presented also showed great dissimilarities. In fifty per cent of the Eastern photos, negative features were expressed and annotated by biased captions. The photos and descriptions in West German books did not bear undertones of prejudice, but showed and described the characteristics in an unemotional way.

The terminology utilized in Eastern and Western books also evolved striking differences. A quantification of

Marxist diction, enriched by socialistic set phrases and cliches, was found with all contributions in East German textbooks. West German instructional materials, however, contained a greater variety of unedited American reprints which all employed an unbiased terminology.

East German publishers included only communist sources. For the analysis of single features communists or discontented individuals were occasionally cited. Their descriptions were then opposed to comparable phenomena in socialist countries. These people's findings always fitted into the ideological concept of communism and substantiated its supposed superiority. In this way, the analysis of the economic portrait of the United States only developed depressing features. Thus the need for an intensified class struggle and a revolt to overthrow capitalism and its bourgeois society was corroborated.

West German publishers, on the contrary, tried to build their portrait of the economy of the United States on a diversity of American self-expressions. Controversial topics were presented and analyzed by American experts who disagreed with one another. The intent was to inform as comprehensively as possible. International comparison was included not to manifest political, ideological, economic or social superiority of the western system, but to make plain the worldwide complexity of issues. The portrait thus developed was much more differentiated than the East German one and augured increasing economic growth and more social justice for all.

Collection of Data

Social Problems - East

Discrimination and Solidarity

> Our Constitution says that all men are equal, and the President has often said that the 22 million Black Americans have the same rights as the white population. But we have not: Our only "right" is to fight and be killed in dirty wars which are not ours.
>
> Most of our people are poor. They have to live in miserable flats. To one white worker who has no job there are two or three Black workers out of work.
>
> Our children do not get a good education. The racialists do not like our boys and girls in the schools for white children, and they make it difficult for them to go to high schools and college.
>
> In spite of the Civil Rights law they still do not serve us in many restaurants.... Your boss says he'll fire you if you vote. And the Kukluxers threaten to kill you. And the police will only laugh at you if you go to them to complain.[1]

These excerpts were taken from a leaflet issued by Black Americans. The proclamation culminated in the instigation of all citizens to fight actively for their civil rights. Black and white Americans were requested to join a civil rights march. "Those fascist swine," i.e., the "racialists," became so angry about the protests that they beat up young Blacks who had dared to enter a restaurant (ibid., p. 95). "Police brutality against peacefully demonstrating people" was the caption under a photo illustrating the situation (ibid., p. 94).

The status of American Black people at work and in public life was required to be documented with priority in East German instructional materials. The official guidelines for

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[1]Gerhard Gräf, English for you 4 (8. Auflage; Ausgabe 1969; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1976), pp. 93-94.

the teachers mandated that they focused first of all on class struggle and its effects on the working class.[1] Racial discrimination was raison d'état. By discrimination against the colored worker, class solidarity of the working class was to be weakened. While the ruling class intended to strengthen the so-called workers' aristocracy of white workers, the communists' preeminent task was to restore the unity of all workers. The fight against the underprivileged Blacks was one specific form of class struggle. The ruling class was trying to divide the working class by driving racial wedges between the workers. In the United States the whites were being played off against the Blacks. It was the white man who had to overcome racial resentments first so that the class solidarity of all workers could be restored (ibid., p. 88).

The capitalists' aims were also recognized by young progressive workers. "Different from any other youth organization, because it based its program on Marxism-Leninism, is the Young Workers Liberation League, founded in February 1970 in Chicago." (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 90). Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the Y.W.L.L. and C.P. candidate for vice-president in 1972, voiced his followers' commitment:

> It needed to ring from all the house-tops: Unity-Youth Unity - United Front. We must fight now to build ideological clarity.... The struggle against racism and Black oppression has been and will continue to be central to all struggles for progress, from here to liberation (ibid., pp. 91-92).

For classroom work, the East German teacher was provided

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[1]Ewald Festag und Lothar Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 4 (3. Auflage; Ausgabe 1969; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1974), p. 90.

with more items of information about the youth organization's objectives. They read as follows: the members stood for the democratic unity of young people, they tried to combine the struggle against racism in the United States with the struggle against imperialism; they asked the workers to support the students and wanted the students to cooperate with the workers; they went on fighting in spite of fascist terror and oppression.[1]

The need for intensified combat against continued discrimination was imperative after the experience of the Blacks' struggle in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. Despite their large numbers the Black people had practically no political rights. These states were among the worst in discrimination and persecution of colored people. There was still segregation in schools, public transport, restaurants and cafés. The white fascist organization Ku Klux Klan was most active in the South and continued threatening or even lynching all those who fought for civil rights. It was under these circumstances that the Black people had to struggle for their civil rights. The need to fight was illustrated by reports about individual victims. For example, James Howard Meredith who in 1962 became the first Black student of the Mississippi University was threatened with murder. Another victim of racial discrimination was Nancy Lee Johnson who was not allowed to receive her art scholarship because she was colored. When

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[1]Hans-Jürgen Klug/Rudolf Ziener/Ingrid Eitlinger, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 7 (1. Auflage; Ausgabe 1975; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1975), p. 70.

saluting the flag: "One nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," Miss Johnson expressed her hope by these words: "That is the land we must make." (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 106).

There was also the typical case of a Black worker who would not mind not getting the same pay as the white people for the hardest and dirtiest jobs. But his old boss sent him home and gave the position to the white man.

Discrimination and social insecurity also affected American women. "We in the United States know what we can expect: you get pregnant - and you're out." (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 37). During every election in the United States the bourgeois politicians went to the people and promised everything but the voters did not see many results, a white American woman complained (ibid.).

These and similar examples were intended to delineate essentials of the capitalist society. Its entity was characterized by the inextricable contradiction of economic bondage and inequality on the one hand, and political freedom and equality on the other. Only a socialist revolution could solve the contradiction between economy and politics. The middle-class nation was split into bourgeoisie and proletariat by intransigent class interests. The imperialistic bourgeoisie became the mortal enemy of its own people (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 129).

The problems of work, living, health and education chiefly affected the Black people crowded into ghettos. In addition, burdens of racist discrimination aggravated their

situation. The following statistical data were used to substantiate the situation as it existed in 1970:

1. The average Black family's income was about 40% below that of the average white family.
2. About 40% of the Black population lived in poverty.
3. Unemployment in the ghettos approached 50%.
4. Houses of the Black people were 56% substandard.
5. Black life expectancy was five years below that of whites.
6. Death rate among Black children was 40% higher than among white.
7. Only 3% of the Black children in the South attended desegregated schools (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 84).

Youth was regarded as an exceedingly strong force in the United States. About twenty-two per cent of the labor force was aged between sixteen and twenty-four, and among them the unemployment rate was much higher than among other age groups. Thus the goal for many young Americans was to unite millions of youths in different organizations under the leadership of young workers and oppressed adolescents in order to defeat the policies of big corporations and state administration. Delegates from twenty-eight states had already initiated a United Youth Front against war, poverty, unemployment, racism, repression and economic crisis. They expressed their demands by banners and slogans like "Stop the bombing now" and "Free our Comrade Angela Davis" (Lipecky, English for you 7, pp. 90-91).

Youth in the United States was on the move. It had recognized the signs of the time. Since all bourgeois

governments only served the interests of the big monopolies, every economic struggle had to be political at the same time (ibid., p. 92). The American youth was assured of international proletarian solidarity in its fight against the anti-human policy of the United States imperialists.

Youth also regarded capitalism as a misanthropic, outdated social order whose reactionary character manifested itself in anti-strike-laws.[1] More and more protest meetings were organized against the United States aggressive policy in South-East Asia (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 86). According to East German publishers, the war against the Vietnamese was started by the American aggressors. Students who had peacefully demonstrated against this policy were brutalized and arrested (Gräf, English for You 4, pp. 85-86).

Workers' resistance against capitalist inhumanity was delineated by typical incidents throughout the past ninety years. The leading role of the working class and its political advocates, the Communist Parties from all over the world, was emphasized. The objective of international class struggle was seen in the demand for peace, more justice and social progress. The happenings on Haymarket in Chicago on May 1, 1886, provided the means for East German textbook publishers to illustrate the bloody history of class struggle in the United States. The Chicago workers of 1886 had gone on strike for an eight-hour working day. Suddenly the long

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[1]Lothar Pohl/Bernhard Zickler/Ingrid Eitlinger, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 5 (3. Auflage; Ausgabe 1970; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1975), p. 89.

series of class-battles was ruthlessly ended by police brutality. Four workers were killed and many others wounded. "Suddenly a bomb was thrown among the policemen and several of them were killed. The police opened the fire, killed several workers and wounded at least 200." (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 44).

The East German teacher had to mention that seven workers were charged with murder and four of them were executed. Six years later, the government declared that they were innocent of the crime for which they had been tried, and that the hanged men had been the victims of hysteria, packed juries and a biased judge (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 71).

Worker hostility of the bosses was also expressed in the assassination of Joe Hill in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1915. The copper bosses allegedly hated the song-writer and workers' organizer for his communist activities. They had him arrested on a false murder charge and he was sentenced to death and executed. According to the book, it was the copper bosses who tried and executed Joe Hill, and not the court of law (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, pp. 30-32).

Class justice and terror against the working people had never vanished from the United States. This was documented in a report about a march for jobs on Ford's River Rouge plant on March 7, 1932, when four workers were killed and many injured. Workers were fired for striking and protesting against intensified exploitation. "When we reached the plant the police started throwing tear gas on us. At the same time one of Ford's bosses was waving a gun. On his

signal the shooting started." The book did not give further details about which people actually fired. At the hospital doctors and nurses did not want to help the injured. "Since that massacre in 1932 I have been fighting for the union ...," vowed a concerned worker according to the report which was entitled "A day of murder." (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, pp. 185-186).

These examples were intended to make clear that the workers in the United States had to fight against two enemies: the employers and the state machinery dominated by them. The government profited from the gains of the monopoly capitalists and together they attacked the unions. Their enmity was only aimed at fighting the "progressive" unions and not the AFL-CIO. Its leading staff had become the center of a workers' aristocracy that opposed political actions and practically supported the interests of the bourgeoisie. Colored people were excluded. The AFL was anti-communist and anti-socialist. Its leaders defended the capitalist system. After World War II the CIO lost its progressive tendencies (ibid., pp. 87-88). During the G.E.C. strike in 1969 the AFL-CIO tried to prevent united actions of all workers. Only the progressive unions, together with the C.P.U.S.A., gave full support to the strikers. In the strict sense of class struggle, the leftist groups proved to be the genuine national trade union center.

The widening gap between rich and poor was also pictured by portraits of a few big American cities. Chicago and New York were shown as places of great contrasts. Chicago

was called the center of struggle of the working class and an important industrial and commercial center. The Eastern books referred to opulent shops in certain districts with middle class citizens who could afford their poodles' pedicure, the fee for which was more than a day's takehome pay of an average worker (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 23). There was also Skid Row with sleeping rooms for thirty cents a night and no discrimination among the homeless, jobless, hopeless souls. The soup kitchen was financed by private societies (ibid.).

New York City was looked upon as the political and economic center of the capitalist world and as the richest city. The sharp social contrast was expressed by the 250,000 homeless, Black housing, unemployment, low wages and disease.

Culture

- The cultural life of the U.S.A. is in a deep crisis.

- Publishing houses want to make profit out of culture - owned by those who own the means of production.

- Films, books, pictures, plays show murder, horror and sex; African dances turned into sexy (Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 6, p. 122).

The crisis in the cultural life of the ruling class resulted from the decadence in the capitalistic social order. Features of this decadence were expressed in the commercialization of art. The newly created lucrative pseudo-culture and immorality appealed to lower instincts and negatively affected youth, capital crime and mass hysteria (ibid., p. 123). The East German English teacher was bound to refer to such

guidelines which supplemented the students' text material. The Americans were also portrayed as proud people. For example, American poets and artists have become known as famous interpreters of progressive culture. In the struggle for a democratic culture which served the interests of the working people, the Communist Party took the lead. Through publication in communist party papers of young writers, especially Black authors, art was turned into a weapon of class struggle in the United States (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 95).

The "progressive" and "democratic" kind of culture was also to be interpreted according to East German guidelines. The entire state-approved material was contained in the various books and in a special song-book. The teacher was bound to choose from among the given titles. At least one song and one poem were declared obligatory in each English course. Every example of poetry and every song that was found in East German instructional materials fulfilled the requirements pertaining to class struggle.

Together with other similar titles, the selection of songs for grade ten and eleven contained the following typical headings:

The Hammer Song
Ban the Bomb
The H-bomb's thunder
Join in the fight
We shall overcome
John Brown's body
Billy Boy
Jingle bells

One of the last two titles was optional (Festag/Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 4, p. 6).

Text and the official text interpretation of a few examples shall illustrate the basic pattern which, with slight variations, might run as follows:

1. The crisis in the cultural life of the monopoly capitalist society.
2. Art as a weapon in the class struggle of the United States.
3. How the anger of the Black/exploited/unemployed/discriminated/frightened people was turned into a freedom call.
4. Progressive poets and artists.
5. Working class is developing a new cultural tradition.
6. C.P. has taken the lead.

The official interpretation of the song We shall overcome could be regarded as typical. Its principal message was expressed in the lines:

- We shall overcome some day.
- We'll walk hand in hand some day.
- We shall live in peace some day.
- We are not afraid today.

The instructor's introductory remarks to this song were spelled out in the Teacher's Manual. They ran as follows:

> "We shall overcome" is an old song which was sung by the Black people in the South of the United States. New words were added in the course of time and it was sung as a union song. Then the workers of a small factory sang it when they were on strike. They sang it to show that they believed a better future for them would come some day.
>
> In 1946 Pete Seeger, the famous folk singer, learned this song and since then it has been sung at big meetings and demonstrations against the atom bomb, against the war in Vietnam and for the rights of the Black people in the U.S.A. Now this song is sung all over the world where people fight for

peace.[1]

In the students' song-book, the interpreter himself added:

> I confess that for me the most important word is "We" - and when I sing it I think of the whole human race, which must stick together if we are going to solve crucial problems that face us all: problems of war and peace, of poverty, ignorance and fear, of health and population. This song expresses the spirit of the Negroes' struggle typical a ten years ago.[2]

According to the annotations on Join in the fight ... "Black and white, we'll rebuild the world!" the main thought of this famous Negro protest song was the call for international solidarity in the fight against racial discrimination and monopolistic exploitation (ibid., p. 77).

According to the teacher's guidelines, Black and white must unite, they must join in the fight for a better world. Paul Robeson, the famous interpreter of the song, was not allowed to leave the United States when he was going to sing for all the peoples of the world. In 1958, world-wide solidarity with the Black singer forced the United States government to give him back his passport (Festag/Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen 3, p. 126).

This is an extract from the Hammer Song:

> If I had a hammer, ...
>
> . . . . . .

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[1]Ewald Festag und Lothar Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 3 (3. Auflage; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1976), p. 89.

[2]A. Burkhardt und R. Telling, Let's Sing Together (5. Auflage; Ausgabe 1968; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1973), p. 78.

I'd hammer out a warning,

I'd hammer out a love ...

I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out a warning, ...

It's the hammer of justice, it's the bell of freedom,...

This song was regarded as one of the most popular songs of the past twenty years. It was sung during the Korean War and at the height of the McCarthy period (Senator Joseph McCarthy fought wildly against the Communist Party and all the other progressive forces in the United States). The song was a call to the people of America to recover and defend the best of their democratic traditions (Burkhardt/Telling, pp. 79-80).

International solidarity was expressed by these words in the song Ban the Bomb:

. . . . . .

And we are united
In a common purpose.
Ban the Bomb, ban the Bomb!

No Yankee bases, no Yankee bases
. . . . . .
We don't want Polaris!

No more Hiroshimas,
No more Nagasakis. (Ibid., p. 22)

The international peace movement was inspired by the great number of peace and protest songs which dealt with the United States racial problems, the civil rights movement, discrimination and the aggressive imperialistic policy.

> ... many other singers in the U.S.A. and in Britain ... helped to encourage people in the capitalist countries to fight for a better social system, against any kind of discrimination and for peace in the world. By this folk song movement a broader revolutionary working-class

culture may be developed (Festag/Kerl, English for You 5, p. 87).

The same criteria employed for the songs also determined the selection of American poetry: only progressive, i.e., communist poets were accepted. They all supported the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of a decadent, dying capitalistic society and were convinced of both socialist superiority and final victory by class struggle. With regard to content, they all paid homage to the same doctrine. There were, of course, greater differences in respect to form and style.

Discrimination and ill-treatment by the white man was broached in the poem Speech by Robert E. Hayden, a Black American born in 1913: "I have heard the words ... to divide you ..., dirty nigger, poor white trash - ...." (Lipecky, English for You 7, p. 93).

Black and white men together must fight their common enemy, that was the poet's demand.

Langston Hughes was the best-known and most often cited Black American poet in East German schoolbooks. He was regarded as an outstanding poet of the Black Movement which developed after 1920 in the United States. The climax of the Negro Renaissance was reached about 1925 with Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Cora La Redd and others.

The 1920's was also the most productive period of Black writing, and Hughes soon started to stigmatize white fascism and its struggle against white and Black Americans.

In his poem I Too, Sing America, Hughes expressed his wish that the despised Black of today might have equal rights

tomorrow. This could only be achieved by a united struggle of Black and white workers against the common enemy, which was the ruling capitalist class (Festag/Kerl, English for You 6, p. 101).

In the long poem They're our kids, Hughes condemned the ruling class of the United States "... for letting kids die ..." because they "... don't believe in lies, and bribes, and contentment, and a lousy peace ...." The sleazy courts, the bribe-reaching police, the blood-loving generals, and the money-loving preachers defied the young people and did not want them to get wise to their own power. In this poem Hughes appealed to all militant young people to bring their fight for a new society to final victory (ibid., pp. 58-59).

Carl Sandburg was introduced as a socialist poet who had always defended the interests of the working class. He was represented by the poem I am the people, the mob in which he identified himself with the mob as the only good seed ground by which all the great work of the world was done. This poem was supposed to verify Sandburg's notion of poetry as an instrument in the struggle against the social order under monopoly capitalism (ibid., pp. 44-45).

Mike Quin's little poem If all the workers was selected to oppose the capitalist system to the socialist. Only under socialism all factories are owned by the workers and the profits are fairly shared among all.

What is America to me?, by Lewis Allan, is a poem in which the poet described his vision of America as a land of wealth and beauty with food for all, with social security and

humanity, as a land without exploitation, racial discrimination and suppression, the home of liberty and a promise for tomorrow. But the poet's vision of the future with goodness, wealth and equality for all could be realized only if the working class and all anti-imperialistic forces freed mankind from imperialism (Gräf, English for You 4, p. 96).

The same topics and criteria were applied to the reading of American literature of today. The authorized texts were contained in small paperbacks. One text was obligatory for the students to study. The time allowed for the interpretation of a title was also prescribed. It was fifteen lessons on an average.

This Is My Fight was a collection for the extended Abiturkurs, containing extracts from four novels.[1] For example, The un-Americans, by Alvah Bessie, was regarded as an important literary documentation of the struggle of the communists for a better America and an uncompromising denunciation of McCarthyism (ibid., p. 4).

Other excerpts in this collection were taken from Iron City, by Lloyd Brown, who was introduced as a distinguished representative of contemporary Black literature. The author always played an active part in the struggle against racism and the ruling class. The novel Iron City was the story of a young Negro framed on a murder charge. It was likewise the story of a fight organized and waged inside the prison

[1]A. Burkhardt, This Is My Fight (2. Auflage; Ausgabe 1972; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1974).

by three other Black communists to save their comrade's life. The novel was also the story of the author's own experience when he was imprisoned in Pittsburgh for the "crime" of organizing steel workers into the Communist Party (ibid., p. 21).

The paperback Circus come to town contained four short stories by Albert Maltz, an American dramatist, novelist, scriptwriter and author (Maltz, op. cit., cf. pp. 35-36). In 1950, the Committee for un-American Activities sentenced him to one year imprisonment - together with nine other Hollywood authors - because of his "progressive" political conviction. This famous proletarian writer sharply denounced capitalism for shameless exploitation, unemployment and police terror which forced millions of people into want, misery and despair. The story Incident on a Street Corner was used to characterize the contrast between the executive power of a misanthropic system, represented here by the police as the capitalists' slaves. Feeling the people's hate, the officers beat up a drunken worker. "When an Irish Catholic puts on a cop's uniform, he's a cop. He's no Irishman or Catholic any longer." (Ibid., p. 20).

Child labor was criticized in Circus come to town by Maltz. A brutal slave-driver exploited two boys doing dirty work for him just to get free tickets. "You hustle an' I push, ha-ha, that's the way the world is. Move it, kids!" yelled the exploiting profiteer at them (ibid., p. 54).

Jack London's own adventures as a tramp were described in a collection of four short stories entitled From the Road

to the Pen (1907).[1] Being locked up for vagrancy, he himself became a victim of cruel class justice. His own experiences helped him to decide for the Socialist Labor Party. It was only in his last years that London moved further away from the working class and its ideas. Yet his influence on later generations of proletarian and revolutionary writers remained (ibid., p. 3).

In The Pen he described the system of murder, oppression, terror, cliquism and fraud in American prisons. The East German teacher's task was to supplement the texts with other examples of recent "class justice" which were meant to document the fact that the progressive forces were persecuted. This happened to Joe Hill, the Scottsboro Boys, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Angela Davis and others. The teacher was bound to allude to gang fights in London, the Federal Republic of Germany and in the United States of America. In capitalist countries more than elsewhere, youths turned to brutality or showed contempt for the life of others. This was regarded as a result of life under capitalism in which feelings of futility and despair thrived.

Social Problems - West

Discrimination and Solidarity

> Many blacks regard 1974 as a year of progress. About 50% of the 22.7 million black inhabitants of the US are said to have entered the middle class. The surge into the middle class is evident in education as well. 1974 is the year of

[1]Helmut Späte, From the Road to the Pen, by Jack London (Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1966).

> the 20th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in the case ... in which Mr. Brown sought the right for his daughter to attend a segregated white school in her own neighborhood.... However, the black community is still struggling with the same problems as other minority groups like Mexican Americans (Chicanos), Puerto Ricans and Indians. They still suffer from unemployment, broken houses, menial jobs, unequal educational opportunities, this leading to lack of self-confidence and loss of identity, drug-addiction and criminality.[1]

The items mentioned here reflected a typical variety of topics which were discussed in all examined West German textbooks.

They indicated progress and confidence in the future. First-hand background information was furnished. It should enable the students to form their own opinions about the gap between progress and discrimination.

The evidence submitted in this category of the thesis reflected historically grown progress, but also presented examples of current discrimination. Emphasis was placed on the situation of minority groups, on problems of unemployment and poverty, the plight of the big cities, youth, the mass media and culture.

Providing historical background information, Learning English B2 pointed out the fact that "... in little more than 300 years the U.S.A. has grown from a small colony into the most powerful country in the world." (Beilhardt, p. 52). In spite of unsolved domestic problems, the United States did not confine its international commitments to material help alone but "... all over the world, in Asia and in Europe,

[1]Ute Meumann-Sichart, Topical Texts 9 (Stuttgart/West Germany: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1974), p. 3.

American soldiers fought and died for the American concept of democracy and freedom.... In 1945, the leadership of the Western World passed to America." (Ibid., p. 53). The book recalled to the students' minds the Marshall Aid Plan which had helped to rebuild the shattered economy of Europe after the war, and by which the United States showed great responsibility as well as great power (ibid.).

Dealing with military commitments overseas, Catching Up with America critically remarked that "... Pentagon Papers... also showed that the U.S. had been waging 'covert war' for six months prior to it [to open conflict in Viet Nam]...." To call off the bombings would have been something like losing the war and was therefore not favored by many Americans. Everything America stood for was at stake, the prestige of the machine, the veneration of efficiency, the faith in mechanical solutions for every problem. "When General LeMay said we could win the war by bombing them back to the Stone Age, he was speaking up from the depths of our deepest horror." (Clément/Temerson, pp. 119-120). The potency of man turned up again down there in the jungles and caused the failure of a beautifully computerized war. Man's virtues proved to be stronger than the efficiency and prestige of the machine that were at stake in Viet Nam. "To ask us to give up our faith in General Motors is like asking a Joan of Arc to give up her faith in God." (Ibid., p. 120).

The role of the United States in South East Asia was obviously one of the most momentous criteria which influenced the nation's image abroad. West German textbook

publishers and teachers alike stimulated discussions on this issue by questions like "How did the war in Viet Nam affect your image of the United States?" (Ibid., p. 121).

The different features of the country and its inhabitants were illustrated by various examples. Essex in Connecticut represented the typical American town and was depicted by a citizen as follows: "If you ask me what Essex people want most I would say world peace - a chance to look ahead to a decent, stable existence, free of hatred, bitterness and conflict." (Röhr, p. 173).

The American average family was characterized as follows:

> Both parents work hard and earn about $8,000 a year. The money they make will help send the boys away to college. That is their main concern. They have a house and the two family cars. They are not very typical because they save as hard as they can and they don't have any credit cards and they don't own any new shiny appliances and they don't owe anybody a cent, not even for the house or the cars (Clément/Temerson, pp. 151-152).

Many Americans often went hunting and fishing and invited friends for weekend entertainment, but there were also exceptions. For young individuals joining a commune the basic principle could only be that they did not want to have anything to do with the "consumer society." They made their own clothes and built their own houses (ibid., p. 154).

The system of horizontal social strata was seen in two great divisions. The generalized situation showed these data (Lechler, Lehrerheft, p. 35):

The Diploma Elite:	1. The Real Upper Class	5%
	2. The Semi-Upper Class	15%

The Supporting Class:	3. The Limited-Success Class	25%
	4. The Working Class	40%
	5. The Real Lower Class	15%

Members of the diploma elite are the rich and successful people who run things. The supporting classes recruit from people with modest incomes who carry out instructions. Meritocracy in the American class system comprises both the principle of selection by family and by merit (ibid.).

In the 1960's, public attention had focused on minority groups such as the Black militants, welfare workers, "hippies" and campus revolutionaries. From about 1969, the man in the middle, i.e., the majority, had been in the focus. With him, consequences of a reassertion of traditional values in the United States arose. The trend toward law-and-order and toward prayers instead of sex education was strengthened by the danger of racial and class warfare. The turn of the tide was initiated by the reevaluation of the "forgotten American," which coincided with a social momentum toward the Blacks (Lechler, pp. 153-154).

The revolutions that shook the United States in the 1960's, included in addition to the civil rights movement and the students' revolt against the war in Viet Nam, the Women's Liberation Movement. This movement aimed at a redistribution of the male and female roles in society and equal opportunities in every trade and profession. Statistical data illustrated discrimination against women in several branches of employment and in public life. Women's Liberation is still a minority movement, but, like civil

rights, it is a state of mind rather than an organization." (Ibid., p.161).

The plight of the inner city was the subject of several inquiries in West German textbooks. The causes of this critical situation were explained by early city building in the nineteenth century which was closely tied to the American pastime of land speculation. During the boom of the industrial revolution, municipalities handed over their land to private profit and exploitation, and the cities became the abused by-product of national industrial development. Railroad tracks cut right through the middle of cities. Noisy factories expelled the residents, and immigrants poured into the deserted city centers. The so-called slum landlords began to rent rooms to entire worker families at exorbitant prices. "Since most of the slum dwellers were foreign-born, people generally assumed and said that slum conditions were caused by immigrants." (Clément/Temerson, p. 126).

Visitors to the United States were struck by the huge number of really poor people they saw, particularly in towns and cities. The majority of the poor belonged to ethnic groups who mostly lived in urban ghettos. Housing was their gravest problem. Rents were high, conditions in the decaying houses were bad and unscrupulous landlords abounded. The living standard of the immigrants was low, but it was not the fault of the people. It was the fault of the government which allowed these conditions to exist: the garbage in the streets, the run-down housing, no place for the children to play. "For immigrants who have come to Paterson illegally,

exploitation often reaches an unbearable pitch .... These people are little more than slaves ...." (Ibid., p. 132).

The book referred to lawyers in Paterson, New Jersey, who made a business of cheating the illegal immigrants. They promised citizenship for $2,000, received the payment and then turned the applicant over to the authorities. As soon as he was deported, the cycle could start anew with someone else (ibid.).

Different symptoms of decay aggravated the plight of New York City. "New York shows alarming signs of spiritual malnutrition and death-by-inches." (Alpers/Voges, p. 59). After 1947, a million of the highest paid persons had left the city. They were replaced by a million low-paid, socially bereft persons, which decreased the tax revenue. "If New York City is to get into any kind of reasonable economic balance, the low income problem must be faced ...." (Clément/ Temerson, p. 136).

Statistical figures showed that in 1970 41.3% of all workers in private jobs in the City of New York did not earn enough to reach the Federal Government's "adequate but low" standard of living. The book referred to pending plans to improve the situation (ibid., p. 138).

Another West German textbook outlined the city of Chicago as follows:

> Bitter labor wars, race riots, boom times and depression forged into it a bold hardiness. In many ways it is a beautiful city, but in just as many others it is not. Packed into 23 of its 212 square miles are some of the worst slums in the nation.... The Loop ... became the financial, shopping and amusement center. Below the black

> belt ... middle class residential flats filled up the South Side (Alpers/Voges, pp. 60-61).

Los Angeles was generally regarded as the proto-type of a city of the future. "It has become the symbol of vitality, youth, growth and opportunity." (Ibid., p. 62).

Effects of the people's migration were summarized in two West German schoolbooks. "The great cities, especially in the North, are beginning to disintegrate under the impact of the migration into black central ghettos ringed by exclusively white suburbs." (Lechler, p. 146). The negative effects were not only financial and economic. "Urban crime has reached a distinctly antisocial preoccupation with self-preservation.... In the cities ... it's going to boil down not to race riots but to war between the Haves and the Have-Nots. Survival of the fittest." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 138).

In an analysis of the 1970 census, one textbook came to the conclusion that the humble air-conditioner had a powerful influence in circulating people. This technical device drew more and more people to States like Florida and California where the climate permitted outdoor recreation the year around.

> The latest census confines previous evidence that most Americans prefer a one-family house and a yard of their own to the vertical living of the inner city.... Americans are becoming much less regionally diverse. The movement of Negroes from the South has slowed down but race relations will never again be exclusively a Southern problem.... In the Plain States and the rural South, the steady drift away from the farms continues.... The regions fade. The urbanized nation strides on (Clément/Temerson, p. 144).

The problem of the colored minorities still divides the country into integrationists and segregationists. Although

the legal side of this great national issue had been solved, such economic and social aspects as equality of jobs, housing and education still stirred the minds of many people. Thus West German textbooks examined the complexity of all relevant aspects with priority. The latest books based their statistical figures on the 1970 census. The Blacks comprised 11.2 per cent = 22.7 million of the total population, and this percentage should continue to increase. The average income of Black families was $5,590 as opposed to a figure some $3,000 greater for white families (Röhr, p. 101).

Discrepancy according to racial inequality was documented by similar figures in another West German textbook of 1973:

> The average income per family in the U.S.A. is $10,500 per year. In the U.S.A., a family earning less than $3,600 per year is poor. There are 24 million people, that is 12% of the total population, below this poverty level. Of the white population, 10% are below this level, of the non-white 31% (Knippschild, p.13).

According to these statistics, wealth was not distributed equally enough in the United States although the standard of living there was higher in comparison with most other countries.

"Unemployment is still a major problem for Negro Americans. An estimated 638,000 blacks were without jobs in 1968.... Compared with white workers, Negroes are twice as likely to be out of work." (Röhr, p. 101).

Besides the twenty-two million Blacks, there were more than 600,000 thousand Indians and other minority groups who were a uniquely acute problem. It was possibly destined to

be the ultimate and severest test which the country would be able to meet only if the white citizens of the United States soon began to solve the problems among themselves. In letters to the editor, American taxpayers raised critical questions:

> Is help for the developing countries justified as long as there is such poverty in one's own country? Isn't our first duty to feed the hungry before we spend millions on moon landing projects? ... many poor are prolific and unproductive, others who work and earn little often limit their families and through their taxes help support those who don't limit theirs (Lechler, p. 155).

West German textbooks, in one way or another, reviewed the progress of the Blacks and other minorities in the one hundred and ten years since the end of slavery during the Civil War. In 1860, there were four and a half million Black slaves who were unable to profit from any of the privileges granted by the Constitution to all free citizens. After the war, the 13th and 14th Amendments guaranteed equal rights for all citizens regardless of color. "By no means did this solve the Black problem in American society...." (Clément/ Temerson, p. 85). Other accurate figures in the books referred to the Indians who were the fastest growing minority: 800,000 individuals in about three hundred tribes (Röhr, p. 18). By 1900, the Indian population had shrunk to 300,000 (Beilhardt, p. 5). By 1910, it had dropped to an all-time low of 220,000 after nearly three centuries of resistance against the white man and his way of life (Röhr, p. 18). All Indians were granted full citizenship in 1924. The appalling indicators of Indian suffering were reflected by a young man:

> ... average income and years of schooling are well behind that of both the black and the Mexican-American.

> 90% of reservation housing are substandard. Unemployment rate is up to 90%.... The next time whites try to illegally clear out land, perhaps we should get out and shoot the people in the bulldozers.... We don't use the language of the New Left, but that does not mean we're not militant (ibid.).

Conditions for the Mexican-American were not much better, according to a young chicano student from Uvalde, Texas: "Life is a perpetual struggle.... The chicano movement in Uvalde is just beginning to stir. There have been a few protest marches...." (Ibid., pp. 23-24).

Since the first reported vote against slavery of February 1688, which was initiated by the Quakers and signed in Jamestown, Pennsylvania, the struggle of the minorities to gain full rights as American citizens had continued to this time. Since they were poor and mostly uneducated, progress was slow. Although Negroes remained free since the time of the Civil War, not all of them could automatically exercise the right to vote.

The contradiction of equality and discrimination in a country which was founded on the principle that all men are created equal was analyzed with priority in all West German textbooks researched. Provided with the historical and statistical background information, well-known Americans were quoted on this national issue. The civil rights movement and its political leaders were the focal point of the various contributions.

> Climaxing this process was the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. For all men of good will May 17, 1954, marked a joyous end to the long night of enforced segregation....

> In the present crisis America can achieve either racial justice or the ultimate social psychosis that can only lead to domestic suicide.... The crisis has the potential for democracy's fulfillment or fascism's triumph; for social progress or retrogression. We can choose either to walk the high road of human brotherhood or to tread the low road of man's inhumanity to man (Alpers/Voges, p. 76).

In this quotation, Martin Luther King described the present state and the chances for the future of the American society. The paradox of segregation and discrimination in a free country deeply disturbed the consciences of whites both North and South and caused many of them to realize that segregation was basically evil. The famous 1954 Supreme Court decision which ended the "separate but equal doctrine" was approved by many Americans and "... was hailed in the Negro community as a second Emancipation Proclamation." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 190).

One English textbook reviewed the incident which inflamed the colored people's resentment so much that it finally led to the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in December 1955. The largest Negro meeting ever held was organized by King who voiced the Black citizens' feelings as follows: "... we are tired of being segregated and humiliated. We are tired of being kicked about by the brutal feet of oppression. Now we have no alternative but to protest." (Beilhardt, p. 88).

The question of color and prejudice prevented a white school administration from rewarding a Black girl with the annual scholarship she had won. "... they fear that there will be difficulties with the white students and their

parents." (Ibid., p. 203). This example from the recent past was appropriate to illustrate that anti-Black resentments rooted deeply in the minds of many white people.

King was repeatedly quoted from his famous address of March 1963 in Washington: "I have a dream...that one day this nation will rise up, live out of the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'" (Lechler, p. 137).

King's role as a convinced follower of Gandhi's doctrine of passive resistance was emphasized by West German textbooks. He was called an advocate of the principle of non-violence and passive civil obedience who thought violence to be immoral because it sought to humiliate the opponent rather than to win his understanding. "We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools.... Racial injustice is still the black man's burden and the white man's shame." (Röhr, p. 106).

The song We shall overcome was added to a student's work sheet. It had the students compare King, whom the book referred to as "one of the greatest men of this century," and his aims with those of the Indians in the United States, the Ibos in Nigeria and the colored people in South Africa (ibid., p. 107).

King was also cited by his statement that "old systems of exploitation and oppression are passing away; new systems of justice and equality are being born.... Therefore I am not ... discouraged about the future." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 196). In other excerpts from his speeches, King praised gradual economic

improvement and new possibilities for educational advance. The Black man's own reevaluation and his growing self-respect strengthened his struggle to make first-class citizenship reality (Alpers/Voges, pp. 75-76).

In spite of remarkable improvement in the racial issue the Blacks' dissatisfaction, which was mainly caused by unemployment, was stressed in West German textbooks. "Although better education and special courses are being offered to train them into skilled workers, much remains to be done before the U.S.A. will have solved its Negro problem." (Beilhardt, p. 89).

Due to King's role as the driving-force of the Negro revolt, segregation on buses and in schools was abolished, and thousands of white Americans began to support the Blacks' struggle.

The extremists of the civil rights movement were also quoted in the West German textbooks. Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X were portrayed as the prominent leaders of the radicals.

Carmichael was characterized by James Baldwin as one who "... did not begin his career with dreams of terror but with dreams of love." (Alpers/Voges, p. 78). Seeing the two basic problems of Black Americans as poverty and race, he and his supporters called for means to shake the economy, liberate the ghettos and end capitalist exploitation. Carmichael pointed out that Blacks did not want to "take over" the country but get rid of the white man as an aggressive force in order to lead a decent life. They demanded control and proper

representation (Lechler, p. 142).

The Black Panthers, one of the most militant and aggressive groups of the civil rights movement, were characterized by Eldridge Cleaver, their spokesman, as follows: "We want land ..., money, housing, clothing, education, peace." (Ibid., p. 141).

Feelings of hate were expressed in excerpts from sermons delivered by Malcolm X:

> To get fifteen million of us here to make his slaves, on the way the so-called Christian white man murdered one hundred million! I wish it was possible for me to show you the sea bottom in those days - the black bodies, the blood, the bones broken by boots and clubs. The pregnant black women who were thrown overboard if they got too sick! Thrown overboard to the sharks...!" (Ibid., pp. 133-134).

According to this book, it would be unjust to depreciate radical demands by arguing that Black power is racism in reverse. The Negro revolt was the voice of the submerged fifth of the American nation, both Black and white. Through it, national attention focused on economic and social welfare problems which were not mainly racial in character.

> Many white workers also find themselves caught short by the profound transformation our economy is undergoing. The Negro's protest today is but the first rumblings of the "underclass." As the Negro has taken to the streets so will the unemployed of all races (ibid., p. 147).

Various improvements of the Black American were described in West German schoolbooks. They reported of Blacks living in middle class housing to a greater extent and of increasing numbers of Blacks who were observed working in stores in white neighborhoods. Big companies battled to recruit Blacks

for executive posts, which might be the result of a new awareness among the whites that "showcase" hiring of a few colored often at lower levels of responsibility was not enough. But most people argued that there was a considerable element of good-will and social conscience in the whites' efforts to hire Blacks (Clément/Temerson, pp. 168-169). King's judgment of the reevaluation of the Black man found its confirmation here.

The problem of racial integration in the unions seemed unsolvable for many years. The overall percentage of Black membership was low because the colored man was frequently deprived of many job opportunities. In order to correct prejudices, the AFL-CIO recently attempted a rigorous anti-discrimination program against the resistance of certain groups of members. The union leaders promised a policy of unrestricted racial equality in the unions. Martin Luther King pointed out the dramatic parallel between the unions and the Negroes in their struggles for recognition. To King organized labor and the Negro represented a common cause: the cause of human rights and dignity (Alpers/Voges, p. 144).

The cooperative role of the United States' unions was described as one which was more concerned with exploiting the system for their own ends than with changing it. As opposed to British organizations, American unions took over many of the companies' functions and tried to save their members' jobs by advising companies on productivity. They often provided pension funds, redundancy and sickness payments. Compared with single European labor forces, the American union system

offered greater material benefits for the workers (Lechler, pp. 217-218).

West German textbooks gave only little attention to the principles of higher American education. In general, the portraits were confined to a diagram of the structure of the school system, the syllabi and a few contrastive photos of modern and of pitiable school buildings. Sports, bands and typical extra-curricular activities were mentioned, but little was said about the educational objectives and academic achievements of the American high school and its students. General descriptions like the following were found in two West German books: "Studies introduce the student to other cultures and other political systems than his own in other parts of the world and thus prepare him to understand the international scene in objective manner." (Alpers/Voges, p. 80). "The slogan 'equality of educational opportunity' is now widely proclaimed throughout the free world." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 173).

With regard to the problems of the ghetto, Stokely Carmichael viewed the educational situation in 1969 as follows: Black people were forced to live in segregated schooling, which meant poorer education and led in turn to ill-paying jobs.

> The basic story of education in Central Harlem emerges also as one of inefficiency, inferiority and mass deterioration. It is a system which typifies colonialism and the colonist's attitude.... There can be no doubt that in today's world a thorough and comprehensive education is an absolute necessity....this mass of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth, is social dynamite (Witt, pp. 51-52).

West German textbooks tried to correct the stereotypical image of the American way of life. Modern technology and in particular the problems of a social and ecological nature had affected man's life in many different ways. The writers pointed to parallels in other industrialized countries.

Having reached a certain state of technical development, they were also undergoing similar crises of modernity.

Countless contemporary Americans had adopted the live-for-the-moment spirit. For many of them hedonism became the guiding philosophy of life. Machinery civilization evolved to create abundance for the masses, but also created anxiety for the individual. This was exemplified by the automobile. It no longer promised ease and speed of movement, but approaching paralysis and chaos. Aldous Huxley was cited for his sarcastic criticism of the way American people were forced to consume a certain number of new products each year in order to keep industry running (Lechler, p. 255).

Concern was expressed in an article on whether the affluent society would realize the risks of vanishing resources:

> The average American family throws away 750 metal cans each year.... The average American requires, for the style of life, ten times as much raw materials - not counting food - as the average citizen of the rest of the free world (Witt, p. 15).

Several articles in West German books dealt with the various aspects of the throw-away mentality. The authors referred to suggestions by experts to solve the problems. Their analyses focused on producing food from the sea, overpopulation that breeds hostility, the problem of waste, the dangers of pollution by oil, air, water and noise. (Lechler, p. 267).

The difficult situation of many American teenagers was also described. Although no other society had ever been more protective of its children, the worst excesses of crime and violence, as thrust upon them by the various mass media, had put young Americans into a great dilemma. For example, children still reared on talk about the morality of thrift and saving for a rainy day, were surrounded by signs urging their elders to "Fly Now, Pay Later."

> The majority of American states has ordered their school to "teach" the dangers of alcohol and narcotics. Yet, the cocktail party is the ultimate form of social respectability and the legal approach to the narcotics problem is nothing short of medieval (Witt, pp. 28-29).

Another article described the increasing group pressure on the young caused by the need for early dating.

The cult of popularity exercised an extreme financial pressure on many parents. "This social tyranny is the teenage reflection of a society that has made a fetish of matchmaking." (Ibid., p. 33).

The question of social balance was also raised. In a well-run community, with a sound school system and good recreational opportunities, the miscellaneous forces operating on the modern juvenile would do no great damage.

> In a community where public services have failed to keep abreast of private consumption things are very different.... in an atmosphere of private opulence and public squalor ... schools do not compete with television and the movies.... Comic books, narcotics and switch-blade knives are ... part of the increased flow of goals.... There is not much to be feared from the police (ibid., p. 31).

The profile of the United States mass media was intensively analyzed by West German publishers. Of major interest were

the concentration of newspapers, the problem of control and the structure of American TV.

The control of public opinion by a few great press combines was seen as a real dilemma in a free society. If the state interfered, it could easily violate the capitalist principle of free enterprise, or it might look as if the state itself was trying to control public opinion. Quality and reliability of the free press largely depended on how seriously the following values from the code of ethics for American journalists were taken: responsibility and freedom of the press, independence, sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy, fair play decency (Lechler, p. 110).

West German schoolbooks characterized the mass media with regard to American cultural heritage. The eagerness for news was organic to American culture and made the people of the United States the largest consumer of newsprint in the world.

> The profile of the American press is made of murder and sudden death, conflict whether in war, diplomacy, labor, troubles, politics or sports, and always - people. It is the emphasis on people that makes home-town news, gossip, and social events so important an ingredient of the formula (Böhm/Röhr, p. 198).

In tabloid, the emphasis had shifted away from the news itself to department, features and ads. "This is less true of papers like the 'Times' and 'Herald Tribune' of New York ..., which take pride in having not yet become vendors of sweets and spices." (Ibid., p. 199).

American TV was contrasted with West German television. The American division into commercial, instructional and

public sections on the basis of the sponsor system was seen with regard to the quality of programs. "Occasionally, quality and quantity go together." (Alpers/Voges, p. 84).

As the main outlet for advertising messages, American TV was criticized as being too limited and shallow. "People get bulletin-type news from TV and radio, and their depth news from newspapers." (Ibid., p. 85).

Compared with German TV, American stations offered larger news broadcasts, funnier variety shows, more channels, more imagination and cleverer ads which often presented a funny and distorted image of the American way of life (Clément/Temerson, p. 172).

One article was concerned with the negative effects of American TV commercials which might constitute a looter's shopping list. Although no statistics were available commercials might have contributed to the unrest among the ghetto population.

> Even the war news suddenly comes to an abrupt halt for the state of sell. The bloody events in Viet Nam, flanked with sales messages glorifying the good life at home, leave the viewer with the inexplicable sensation that the commercials and the war are one and the same. Which is more real? (Lechler, p. 116).

Culture

The presentation of samples of American cultural achievements in West German textbooks was focused on three major categories: poetry, music and the fine arts. The nature and development of American literature were only occasionally mentioned in English language textbooks for students at the higher level. Samples from American literature were presented

in special readers. The wide choice offered the main streams and tendencies throughout the country's literary development. Since English studies in the final three years at the Gymnasium are thematically structured into semester courses, literary interpretations could focus on a great variety of authors and topics. Intensive literary studies of American works were required. The final choice of authors and titles, however, remained with the teacher and was generally achieved in agreement with the students.

An exemplary study of the prodigious number of works of American literature accessible to West German students lay outside the boundary of this thesis. The United States culture was represented here by samples from poetry, songs and the fine arts.

Cultural achievements also mirror a nation's concept of life. This was particularly true with one subcategory of literature, the comic strip. In the 1860's it might have served new immigrants as an introduction to American ways of life and thought. Today the "funnies" still reflect many facets of American living like drugstores and dating, profit motives and women's clubs (Alpers/Voges, p. 188).

Another author favored the theory that associated the popularity of comic strips with the illiteracy of many Americans (Böhm/Röhr, p. 199).

American poetry was presented to West German students in two ways: through anthologies and, less often, in textbooks. Like literature, all kinds of poems were accessible and recommended to West German students. Similar to the East German

selection of American poetry, two social poets were given preference in the West German textbooks: Langston Hughes and Carl Sandburg. In one book, the Hughes poem I Too was compared with Jimmy Sherman's Th' Workin' Machine, in which the hard working Negro had to make way for the working machine. The students were asked to summarize the humiliation of the characters in both texts (Röhr, pp. 102-104).

In Florida Road Worker, by Hughes, the strength, energy and anger of a Black worker were emphasized. He was bitter because, as a poor man, he could not enjoy the pleasant result of his hard work. The road was for the white man's pleasure (Beilhardt, p. 114).

Langston Hughes as one of the most famous American Black poets whose works, poems, short stories, novels and opera dealt with the problems of the Blacks. Thus he was represented by another poem, entitled Harlem, in which he alluded to the dream of race integration and equal rights for Black people. In this case, the task for the students' further study ran as follows: Listen to protest songs dealing with the problem of integration (Lechler, p. 140).

Carl Sandburg was introduced to ninth and tenth graders as the poet of the prairie and the Middle West. His poems often dealt with the lives of the common people. In the textbooks a selection of various types of his poems was presented. Lyndon B. Johnson was quoted with a characterization: "Carl Sandburg was more than the voice of America.... He was America, ... he gave us the truest and most enduring vision of our own greatness." (Böhm/Röhr, p. 224).

The selection and presentation of poems by Hughes and Sandburg in West German textbooks obviously aimed at emphasizing the poets' yearning for more humanity. Dogmatic traits of aggression or struggle were not reflected.

According to western books, the style of music which characterized America best was jazz.

> The rhythms of jazz have always been the rhythms of revolution, a personal revolution beyond all ideology and dogma. They were created by the American Negro who could find freedom only in such private and personal rhythms. Ironically, this was his greatest cultural gift to his country and became the characteristic expression of that country. The history of jazz itself is a history of personal revolutions - .... (Alpers/Voges, p. 187).

Racial pride, Black consciousness, the frustrated anger of the exploited and the Black man's cry for equality were reflected by jazz. The jazz revolution was not seen as a programmatic Black Power movement, but as an esthetic expression of the Negroes' longing for freedom.

The diversity of American architecture was exemplified by photos which represented the different styles: a modern San Francisco suburb, Independence Hall, Guggenheim Museum, an 18th century residence in Virginia, Los Angeles Airport, Seagram Building and World Trade Center, New York. The examples were intended to mirror the explosive growth of genuine architecture which began in Colonial times. Today American architecture "... is a picture of growth, vigor, imagination, and an ability strong enough to direct the current to new ends, new social goals, new esthetic principles, new technological possibilities." (Ibid., p. 183).

Ben Shan was portrayed as an outstanding social painter who combined social and political realism. Through his works he communicated the tensions and conflicts of people. He did not express "socialist realism," the type of art intended to glorify communist "achievements" (Lechler, p. 44).

Treatment of Criteria

East

Situative Criteria

As was previously stated in this thesis, the political struggle, according to East German ideologists, originated from the United States economic inequality. Thus all items dealing with social problems were almost always linked with the country's economic, sociological and political order. Since the social stratification of the United States was determined by a ruling minority of capitalist monopolists who oppressed and exploited the great majority, social injustice and discrimination were the results. Justice and equality could only be achieved by defeating the entire system of misanthropic capitalism. Since the bourgeoisie noticed the increasing resistance among the working class it tried to divide the workers according to race. Therefore the unity of all workers was the conditio sine qua non to end racial discrimination and social injustice and to ensure freedom for all.

The selection and presentation of all items in this category were in closest compliance with the state guidelines. The application of external criteria showed that

the contributions on social problems should enforce a negative cliché of the United States with regard to current conditions. Frequent repetitions of certain key words and set phrases were scattered throughout the books. Among them were the following: fight for civil rights, fight the common class enemy, bourgeoisie that is synonym for enemy of all working people, capitalism means inhumanity, and similar patterns. Tone and atmosphere of the descriptions were loaded with bias and hate. The shades of tone were instantly changed into human warmth and brotherly appreciation when solidarity with the working class was expressed. The friend-foe cliché was principally employed to emphasize the sharp social contrasts.

In connection with racial affairs, the following lexical items were most frequently used: discrimination, unemployment, exploitation, poverty, bad housing, segregation, bad education, protest song. Noticeably, the civil rights movement was only occasionally referred to and not portrayed by its leaders.

Exact statistical data were meant to delineate the social status of the underprivileged Blacks in the United States. Very drastic phrases and photo captions were used to illustrate the capitalists' executive organs. Examples were: police terror and brutality, fascist terror, politicians are liars, courts of law, i.e., class justice, AFL-CIO is a reactionary union.

The preeminent role of youth in the protests against the ruling class was reflected in several portraits of leftist movements. Although only Marxist-Leninist youth organizations

or "progressive" adolescents were concerned, the impression was forced on the reader that the vast majority of the young generation stood behind the movements. But East German publishers only aimed at picturing the political ends of the communist groupings. The books did not provide precise data concerning membership and influence on the noncommunist public. The youth they referred to only appeared as uniformed Their organizations and collectives called for a strong united youth front. Side by side with the C.P.U.S.A. the organized movement was the leading force in the unified struggle against the workers' two enemies: the employers and the bourgeois state machinery. Youth found ideological solidarity with the "progressive" unions. Unity and class solidarity were continually demanded. They were regarded as the strongest weapon against the established system and its fascist terror. Black people were mostly portrayed as victims of individual cruelty of single policemen or of class justice. Police were presented as remorseless executors of the ruling class who did not shrink from brutality against peaceful demonstrators. The need for militant protests was not questioned after the aggressive foreign policy in South East Asi and deteriorating social problems at home had aggravated public opinion. Demonstrations and police activities also resulted from the radicalized anti-strike policy of the government. However, an accurate description of circumstances in single cases was not given. Only general background portraits were developed. The single descriptions added up to an image of social and racial problems in the United States which led from economic to

political struggle and which culminated in the defeat of the ruling class.

Decadence of the capitalist society was increasing. It was manifested in recent pseudo-cultural achievements, which only disguised the deep crisis of bourgeois culture. Growing juvenile delinquency, drug problems and mass hysteria were symptoms of bourgeois morbidity. In contrast, modern culture in the United States was seen under these two aspects: the grand early American culture was to be continued by adequate modern achievements of progressive art and, second, culture was to be used as a weapon in class struggle. To portray progressive American culture, East German writers selected only authors and their works that were in full compliance with the political requirements. The selection showed that the emphasis was placed on songs. They always played a preeminent role in the cultural history of the country. The long tradition of folk and worker songs was continued by modern peace and protest songs. Domestic problems and an increasing number of protest marches in the United States had inspired the world-wide peace movement. As the chief victim, the Black American was turned into a symbolic figure of international solidarity.

These same sources inspired American poetry. Very few proletarian Black and white poets were selected as representatives of the "progressive" anti-bourgeois culture. The subjects they dealt with were identical to those in the songs. They also furnished the topics for leftist American literature. The number of admitted themes and plots was extremely small. The contents were geared to the time of the scientific-

technological revolution.

The obligatory texts were contained in small paperbacks with conspicuous graphic settings. The title page of This Is My Fight showed two hands, one black and one white, which were shaking each other. Inside the front page, the august Statue of Liberty was mirrored by a similar statue in black. State authority was represented by a policeman who was beating up people. The hymn of the trade unions Solidarity Forever was embellished by a vignette of shaking black and white hands. The bulk of the photos about social matters either showed incidents which were detrimental to the United States, or objects with prejudiced captions. The total of the illustrative items, however, reinforced resentments against the United States.

Content Analysis

The socialist diction and vocabulary were redundantly used in every description or quotation concerning social problems. In addition to the stereotype wording a significant number of extremely drastic terms were connected with the hated bourgeois institutions.

Among the most salient lexical items the following words emerged: copper bosses, enemy, hate, threaten, police brutality, fascist swine, victim, flog, lynch, hang, racist, Ku Kluxer, Yankee; dirty war, prisoner, aggression.

These or similar words were always used in descriptions slandering the "enemy of the working class." The situative circumstances always favored the workers and blamed their

opponents as inhuman aggressors who employed violence. In all the scenes the friend-foe cliché showed similar traits.

East German publishers only referred to those aspects of their topics which fitted into their ideological concept. With reference to the Constitution of the United States of America and the civil rights movement, actual progress and the movement's peaceful character were totally concealed. The improvements of many Black Americans' living conditions and their leaders' statements on progress were not even mentioned. The use of comparative forms like "more readiness to fight" or "more Americans join the communist youth organizations" did not provide accurate data. The opinions and views of nonorganized workers and youths were not considered. American writers and interpreters who dealt with violations of human rights by international communism were ignored. Topics other than class struggle, class justice, discrimination and solidarity were not found among the strictly limited text materials. This research did not discover samples from American paintings and sculpture. Dissenting writers and intellectuals or artists who stood on different political grounds, were not represented in East German textbooks.

The ideological intent was to pave the way for a socialist revolution through class struggle. It was realized by rigorously confining the book content to anti-American contributions and by propagating socialist ideas. These were evenly distributed throughout the books. Occasionally, communist publishers referred to conditions in East Germany or other socialist countries. The comparisons were intended

to emphasize the superiority of the socialist society.

West

Situative Criteria

West German textbook writers presented a topic by means of controversial contributions. According to the relatively high level of the students' intellectual abilities and their sound English language competence, tasks for further study were added to stimulate the students' verbalization. Guided exercises should induce the pupil to reflect on similar problems in his own country. By the application of the external criteria in this category, the impression of an unbiased selection of momentous contributions to all great issues of the United States was corroborated. The books did not only contain a wealth of information, but most of them also provided ample bibliographical information for further studies. The textbooks themselves furnished background data to a great extent. With regard to social problems, most attention was related to minorities and discrimination. The books acknowledged the signs of reconciliation which showed that the gap between progress and discrimination had become smaller. The contradiction of nominal equality and de facto discrimination was the number one topic in West Germany's English schoolbooks. The struggle of the minorities for more equality was documented by historical reviews and data. A further differentiation of single aspects or problems could be achieved by employing other sources.

The Black man's long way from the state of slavery to

full civil rights was elucidated by some milestones between 1688 and the present. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 was regarded as the turning-point on the way to full civil rights for all. The previous oppression of the Indians was illustrated by recent official statistical data. By all publishers, Martin Luther King was considered to be the greatest driving-force of the civil rights movement and for his philosophy of nonviolence and civil disobedience. Some books underlined another fact. It was King who pointed out the common goals of both unions and civil rights supporters in demanding full recognition of the Black worker. In spite of resistance by white members, King's efforts influenced the official union policy in so far as it soon abolished racial inequality. Because of unemployment, bitter feelings of dissatisfaction still dwelled within many Black people. Despite encouraging signs of good-will on both sides and successes in integrating races, Black extremists still called for a radicalization of demands. The close interaction of substandard housing, high unemployment rates and crime was substantiated by facts and figures in the West German books.

The military commitment of the United States in Viet Nam was seen in light of the country's long tradition of helping those who were in need. West Germany's rehabilitation in post-war time was essentially accelerated by the economic and financial help granted by the United States of America.

The riots of minority groups in the 1960's finally led to a reassertation of traditional American values. The trend to law-and-order continued into the 1970's and resulted in

foundations of nondogmatic movements like Women's Lib.

Critical American voices called for more support of the domestic fight against poverty and unemployment by drastic cuts in lunar research and in aid for the Third World.

Causes and effects of migration into and out of the big cities were thoroughly analyzed. Black central ghettos being surrounded by exclusively white suburbs might jeopardize racial integration. Examples of typical cities were presented to show the diversity of socio-economic and ethnic problems. The problems and the proposed solutions were to be discussed and compared to similar situations in the students' own countries.

Whenever possible, official statistical data were used to indicate the latest trends in developments.

The causes for the crises of modernity were next in importance to the problems of minorities and discrimination. West German books pointed out that many of the unsolved problems could also be found in other countries of the free world. The interaction of industrial abundance and consumption, of affluence and vanishing sources, was analyzed. The need for a permanent readjustment of educational objectives and concepts was underlined by critical quotations from radical Black leaders. The emphasis on the wrong idols and the abuse of traditional habits pushed youth into a dilemma. Positive and negative effects of the mass media were outlined by various American comments on this subject.

West German textbooks preferably characterized American music by referring to spiritual and jazz. Text and rhythms

manifested best the Negroes' revolts which never had an ideological dogma.

American painters and architects were represented by a few models and trend analyses.

Poetry was sporadically presented in the books by a relatively small selection of poems on miscellaneous subjects. For more systematic analyses West German students used to work with anthologies which contained all types of poetry.

Comic strips were described in only a few books. They were regarded as a typical American institution which had didactic functions in the difficult process of assimilating new immigrants.

In general, literature was not contained in West German language textbooks. Required courses prescribed intensive studies of English or American literature without restricting the choice of titles.

Illustrative materials, photos, statistical data and charts were richly used in all West German books. The vast majority of all illustrations provided positive information by means of an adequate vocabulary. The average ratio of photos which communicated positive and negative information respectively, was about twenty to three. One photo showed three young Negroes who gave the Black Power salute by raised fists in memory of two Negro students who were shot by the police during a demonstration on a college campus (Lechler, p. 143). In another book, King's speech I Have a Dream was contrasted with an ad from a newspaper published in North Carolina on October 28, 1859, under the title: "Negroes For

Sale" (Clément/Temerson, p. 170).

The percentage of topics which were related to the United States was fifty per cent in books which also covered other subjects. There was a great number of readers which exclusively dealt with United States themes.

Content Analysis

The check on the vocabulary of the textbooks did not disclose publishers' interference. Since most contributions originated from American sources of a high standard, the lexical items could be regarded as very selective.

Examples of journalese or slang, literary or colloquial English were in accord with the respective type of text and the didactic intention.

The text analyses revealed accuracy in the use of statistical data. The publishers utilized official facts and figures and marked the sources correctly. The interpretation of significant aspects was substantiated by controversial statements. Negative remarks or nonconformist views were equally regarded. This became apparent when the country's unsolved problems like racial discrimination, unemployment, poverty and crime were tackled. The discrepancies between the Haves and the Have-Nots were critically commented on from many greatly diverging viewpoints. Historical aspects were included and illustrated by accurately used facts and figures.

However, some other topics of national concern were only insufficiently treated. The West German students were confronted with controversies on issues like land speculation in

earlier times, war cruelties, student revolts, profiteering, criminality, drug addiction, education; yet most articles did not provide all exact data which were necessary for an analysis of current conditions and trends. On the other hand, phenomena like the causes of the war in Viet Nam, social and racial inequality, Black members in unions, the civil rights movement, racial radicalization, colored ghettos, poverty or the problems of pollution were thoroughly analyzed and critically discussed.

The selected materials were well geared to the mandated requirements which called for critical unbiased studies of the United States, its citizens and problems by a balanced selection of different first-hand information. The West German textbooks contained a wealth of reliable and critical contributions on all main areas of social problems. In this way they enhanced the knowledge and stimulated the minds of the students to deepen their own studies.

Similarities and Differences

Views and opinions on social and economic inconsistencies in the United States had to clash vehemently when they originated with two entirely different socio-economic and political systems. Under these circumstances, a comparison of the image of the United States in the content of East and West German language textbooks could not but evolve more discrepancies than similarities. Both East and West German schoolbooks made clear the need to strengthen efforts to overcome social injustice and racial discrimination in the United

States. But the premises for the status quo and the necessary reforms were entirely different. East German publishers held the capitalist bourgeoisie, i.e., a small minority of wealthy American citizens, responsible for increasing injustice, unemployment and poverty. They allegedly divided the working class for reasons of oppression and callous profiteering by discriminating the Blacks from the whites. Thus the only solution to end class struggle was the enforced united fight of all workers and the defeat of the common enemy, the monopoly capitalists and their state machinery.

West German writers, however, analyzed the present situation by referring to deplorable errors in the nation's past. They also pointed to milestones on the way to full civil rights for all and actual progress made. More solidarity on all sides was called for. It found expression in the non-ideological and nondogmatic civil rights movement. Mainly due to Martin Luther King, the call for unity was also heard by the labor unions. After many years they ended racial discrimination in their membership.

Eastern publishers promoted solidarity by forging a unity of organized youth, the C.P.U.S.A. and the "progressive" unions. Youth was supposed to play the leading role in the fight against the common enemy. Moderate civil rights leaders and the radical forces of Black Power were not at all or only casually, mentioned in East German textbooks. Neither of them was incorporated into the workers' common front. The friend-foe cliche was continually revitalized by referring to "fascistic terror" of the established class. "Police brutality"

and "class justice" were visible signs of inhuman capitalism. The descriptions of incidents showed tones of bias and hate against the white bourgeoisie. The few statistical data published in the East German books were all negative documents with only limited accuracy. With regard to membership in communist youth movements and discontented "masses," only vague comparisons were contained.

West German books utilized accurate statistical data for positive and negative developments and incidents. The selection and treatment of cultural achievements in the two book versions showed striking differences. East German books praised the American tradition of cultural achievements in the past, but denounced modern arts and music as expressions of decadence of the capitalist society. A serious modern culture was only manifested in progressive art forms of the working class. This culture would be used as a weapon in the class struggle against the common enemy. The American Negro as the real victim of capitalist exploitation was the focus of all progressive, i.e., communist art. Thus the different kinds of song and music (folk, worker, peace, protest; not jazz) as well as proletarian poetry focused on the Negro.

The state approved literature was strictly confined to a very few examples of extremely dogmatic Marxist cliches of the exploited or sacked worker. The tone was often aggressive. The illustrations and photos were principally detrimental to the image of the United States unless they glorified communist achievements.

Since West German schools were obligated to communicate

different data for an objective portrait of the United States, it was left to the individual teacher to select a suitable topic or title to fulfill the requirements.

A great variety of patterns of American cultural life was found in the western books. These were richly supplemented by readers and special volumes of poetry. Therefore samples of art were chiefly restricted to jazz. It was regarded as the Negro's greatest contribution to American culture and as an expression of his revolutionary longing for freedom without an ideological dogma. The Negro's freedom song and jazz, as was previously noted, were not considered communist progressive art.

East German texts bristled with cliches and set phrases and did not shrink from using vulgar terms to revile the political opponent. Situative descriptions always favored the workers and blamed their antagonists.

According to the unrestricted variety of topics, West German books showed well differentiated shades in tone and vocabulary, but did not systematically utilize aggressive or mean words.

Contributions in East German instructional materials were rigidly confined to pro-communist notions of exploitation, class struggle, discrimination and "class justice." Every title was in full compliance with the ideological goal postulated by the Communist Party of East Germany.

As this thesis tried to prove, there were no biased party or state regulations muzzling West German publishers, teachers and students concerning topics or methods of

discussion. Consequently, the examples described in this study could be regarded as representative of a typical West German Gymnasium.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Viewing the preceding data in their entirety, certain points emerged into the foreground of the contents of English language textbooks used at the West German Gymnasium and at the East German unified school. As was suspected, discrepancies rather than similarities could be evolved by the comparison of the two German book versions. The identification of the different treatments of the United States image corroborated the close relationship of intent and content in each type of books. Springing from antagonistic basic notions, the United States portrait was presented differently to a great extent. The identification of criteria that were applied to the illustrations of life in the United States by publishers with contrary political and ideological convictions sustained full compliance with the mandated educational guidelines in the respective German state. Aims and the selection of topics were tightly geared with one another. Each book version distinctly reflected the respective concept. With reference to the West German presentations, all relevant items regarded in this thesis showed a high degree of differentiation in the selections and an unbiased treatment of single aspects. East German evidence, on the contrary, consequently utilized the principle of partiality and bias so as

to denounce so-called United States imperialism and to manifest Marxist-Leninist superiority. The West German instructional materials in the English language portrayed a critical but well balanced picture of the United States; the standardized East German English books divided the American society into a greedy capitalist minority opposing the exploited working class. West German publishers presented graded features of the country, its political foundations, economic problems and social issues by a wealth of various American self-expressions. East German bookwriters confined their sources to a very few leftists that blamed the established misanthropic bourgeois system severely, and which only hailed socialist progress and superiority. West German schoolbook authors endeavored to portray their image of the United States more objectively by a plethora of controversial contributions while East German books delineated a decadent ruling class so as to reinforce the call for revolution and takeover by the proletarians.

This chapter is aimed at presenting and explaining the results which emerged from the evidence and data displayed in the previous chapters. All relevant facts and interpretations were to be put down together with a corresponding explanation of what the results gained represented and meant.

Because the textbook held a paramount position in modern foreign language training some means of control were needed before such books were admitted. Both German systems therefore requested state adoption of instructional materials. In the Federal Republic of Germany, each of the eleven states

granted adoption only if basic requirements in terms of content, seriousness and constitutionality were fulfilled. Since these requirements did not at all restrict the freedom of the publishers to present controversial materials, less friendly facts and features of the United States image were frankly and critically described. As there were no restrictions to the choice of topics, any aspect of significance could be and was tackled. Necessarily from the profile of the United States as it was portrayed by a heterogeneously composed group of West German publishers there emerged certain common features into the foreground. There also evolved differing interpretations.

East German books, on the contrary, presented one stereotyped negative image of the United States to the reader, as it had developed in the one textbook series. Definitions of the United States portrait in the West German books reflected much more individuality, which was sometimes expressed in restrictions like: "according to;" "the general trend insinuated;" "as could be found with some authors." An analysis of East German book contents concerning the United States, however, could express its findings without restrictions and differentiations.

In the following step-by-step procedure, the findings of West German materials had to include necessary differentiations while the East German results could claim an unrestricted validity for the whole educational system there.

The United States' most important political institutions were also treated with priority in East German schoolbooks. The role of Congress and the political parties was partially

annotated rather than objectively described. The allegation that the laws made by Congress were not for the people but for Big Business was a Black man's personal conviction for which was claimed general validity. The statement by the same person that the people were not represented there must evoke the impression of Congress as an arbitrarily constituted pseudo-democratic institution lacking the people's mandate. The actual heterogeneous stratification of its members and the effective parliamentary work achieved by Congress in compliance with the Constitution for the entire nation were held back. With the legal power in the hands of "Big Business" and the executive force with the almighty "monopoly" groups, instead of the President, the need to reinforce efforts to overcome this "imperialistic"system was urged upon the learner. As the country was not ruled by a common people's government with due representation of the working class, the progressive forces organized rallies against the bourgeois executive and its policy with regard to war, growing unemployment, exploitation and discrimination of the colored people.

To understand the communists' argumentation, one must recall peculiarities of socialist terminology. "Communist" was paraphrased by: "the working class," "the people," "the progressive people," "the democratic forces." "Big Business" was synonym for free trade which is the opposite of socialist planned economy. Thus the Black's complaint resulted from the fact that the President and Congress of the United States did not reverberate the vox populi because they were neither communists nor Marxist-Leninists.

The "monopoly capitalists" were said to finance and control the leading bourgeois parties so that they could not serve the interests of the common people. Consequently, the vacuum had to be filled by the Communist Party of the United States of America (C.P.U.S.A.) which had taken the lead in the fight for peace and social advancement. It enjoyed increasing popularity and membership, particularly among the youths. It had already planted the seeds of socialism among American workers and added a new quality to all phases of American life. As the most consistent opponent of United States imperialism the C.P.U.S.A. efficaciously accelerated the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

All these statements were not proved by accurate figures or percentages which could have illustrated the people's feedback. They must therefore be regarded as arbitrary manipulations to suggest anti-capitalist trends and developments which did not really exist in the United States up to the present.

The increasing role of the anti-capitalist Communist Party and its growing influence on youths in particular was not documented either. Its struggle for better materialistic conditions, against racism and fascism in the United States was said to be supported by an unknown but increasing percentage of the population. It was only the anti-imperialistic forces that were persistently quoted in Eastern language textbooks to illustrate life in the United States. The portrayal of the C.P.U.S.A. as the only democratic party to support the underprivileged working class and the ethnic minorities

produced the impression of a well established political movement encompassing the whole country. Its growing significance shook the established classes which tried to eliminate the leaders of the progressive people by prosecution and imprisonment. Individual terror was exhaustively described to furnish evidence and to stir up anti-imperialist emotions. But no evidence was submitted in the reports about law-suits which could have substantiated the bill of indictment. Cases of tried and tortured communist patriots were cited to illustrate "cruel fascist class justice" against progressive Americans.

According to the East German educational concept there was no need to analyze a case free of bias and with objectivity. The word "objectivity" was nowhere found in the description of pedagogical aims. It was the principle of partiality that was to be regarded continually and that was praised as a noble attitude of man in his struggle against imperialism. The one-sided selection and presentation of evidence was therefore in full compliance with the political intentions. They included world-wide international proletarianism which was incorporated in the portraits of life in the United States by referring to demonstrations of solidarity abroad. International loyalty with the oppressed American people was to give a fresh impetus to the struggling working class that was supposed to be in a transition period from capitalism to socialism. But no evidence could be found in the East German books which insinuated trends toward socialism. The allegation was probably made only for effects of propaganda

or to encourage sympathizers.

The extremely small number of samples of "progressive" American literature indicated a limited choice of Marxist-Leninist works written by American authors. The demand for such literature in the United States was obviously not great. All topics treated in the literary selections dealt with the political struggle of communists that were prosecuted by HUAC or similar federal agencies. In this way the impression of a leading role of communist literature was enforced. The existence of a serious, reputed American literature of non-socialist content was deliberately ignored. The same happened to all those Black interpreters of songs that touched upon religion and freedom. Gospel, spiritual and freedom songs were therefore not represented in the East German books although "freedom" and "peace" were occasionally quoted in the works of communist artists. As opposed to western usage, these terms then did not stand for individual freedom but for a freedom from fear of war, exploitation, unemployment, want, misery and despair. The entire working class which, incidentally, was nowhere precisely defined, was said to be comparable to that social state which the Blacks had before the abolition of slavery by Abraham Lincoln: both workers and Negroes were oppressed and exploited by the capitalist system. Only national and international solidarity could bring about revolution and improvements.

The inalienable civil rights of all citizens in the United States and in western democracies, as they were practiced daily, were not even mentioned. Consequently, the

Constitution and the United States Supreme Court historic rulings on basic rights were fully ignored. The East German students were to be presented a country in which the "progressive" forces were deprived of basic human rights. Quoting the Constitution more coherently, its respective amendments and recent decisions in terms of civil rights would mean to portray the United States as a liberal land in which the implementation of the basic rights was constitutionally safeguarded. To admit this would automatically make clear the sharp contrast to conditions in East Germany where most people, more or less openly, utter their annoyance with the hated regime. As the communist East German administration had already forfeited all confidence with the overwhelming majority of the population, the envied western democracies had to be denounced. Moreover, a feeling of solidarity with the suffering American masses was to be enhanced. The doctrine of international socialism was waiting to be exported to the United States and elsewhere to bring about change and a better future.

The contributions in the West German English language textbooks on political foundations described their historic development and function with the necessary objectivity. The preeminent role of the Constitution of the United States was emphasized as was the control by the Supreme Court which safeguarded conformity of government and law court decisions with the constitutional requirements. A highly effective system of checks and balances prevented the passing of laws without the consent or against the will of the people. Recent rulings

by the Supreme Court documented that the nation's greatest issues - discrimination of ethnic minorities and personal freedom - were being solved satisfactorily. Martin Luther King was quoted as having said that May 17, 1954, marked the joyous end of enforced segregation when the Supreme Court outlawed racial discrimination in the public schools. Additional examples from history referred to in the western books illustrated the progress in civil rights for minority groups. These books left no doubt that there remained much to be done to realize civil rights to the greatest possible extent. Examples showed that prejudice and hatred by many citizens against other races were not yet fully eradicated. In spite of setbacks in the long process of desegregation the forces of good-will were on the move and had already brought some lessening of tensions.

Contrary to East German discourses, another important aspect was emphasized in the western books: that apart from a few civil rights radicalists, the verbal confrontation on the issue of racial discrimination and other important topics was conducted free of dogmatic concepts and in an unpolemic way. The tone was much less aggressive in the western books; instead it was more rational. The intent to reconcile rather than to divide affected tone and diction.

Intent and content in all kinds of books examined showed that the Eastern publications were aimed at influencing their readers in a biased way, whereas the western instructional materials tended to inform as complexly and objectively as possible. Thus either version was compatible with its respective

guidelines.

The quantification of those topics that favored the active role of the communists in the United States enforced the impression that no other political or ethnic movement had been as effective. As East German portraits of life in the United States depicted, the "fascist bourgeois imperialists" had divided the nation into two factions: the "oppressed working class" and the "capitalist profiteers." The historic task to be fulfilled then was to intensify the unified struggle of all Blacks and Whites against the common enemy, namely monopolistic capitalism in order to replace it with socialism. All the pictures drawn of political life and conditions in the United States in the 1970's served only one purpose, namely to substantiate the need for a liberation from the "capitalist yoke." As has been stated, the attempts to divide the American society could not be proved by statistical data or unbiased inquiries. Objective situative analyses were not conducted. Personal views of single "progressive" people were taken to claim general validity. Actual improvements in civil rights which were in accordance with coercive requirements of the Constitution and recent Supreme Court rulings were generally ignored. Single incidents of injustice were exaggerated and generalized to develop the impression of intransigent enmity between the classes in the United States. Statements and analyses by Martin Luther King and other great Black leaders were not regarded. The religious, nonviolent component in the civil rights actions was not even mentioned. The impression of accelerating brutality

against the Blacks was nurtured by stereotype, biased characterizations and situation reports. The injustice the white man had previously exerted against his Black fellow countrymen over the years still provided the East German communists with clichés of hostile racism although conditions have improved drastically since 1954. The discriminated and exploited Black man is forever forced into the role of a defenseless victim of brutish capitalism. World-wide solidarity of all "progressive" proletarians and youths in particular had strengthened and improved the Black man's image all over the world.

The question must be raised here how sincere the vows of loyalty with the Black man were. The possibility could not be denied that his unfulfilled claim for civil rights only furnished an alibi for international communism to intervene. Incidents in recent world history had seen communist armed forces invade East Germany, Hungary and the CSSR because the "working class" had called for support. In the case of Soviet occupied East Germany there had never been any doubt that the alleged call for help was merely an invention.

Contrary to Eastern interpretations, the interplay of legislative and executive power functioned well in the United States according to the West German textbooks. The highly differentiated system of checks and balances was both effective and sensible. A democratic system of and for a heterogeneously constituted society was, of course, much more susceptible to trouble than a totalitarian one which was ruled by only a few men. Western books for youths did not shrink

from pointing out grievances. They did so not to give reasons for the liquidation of failing western democracy but to remedy abuses. For the larger part, they provided encouraging examples which should illustrate that almost all gaps were being filled up by good-will on both sides. Of all the contributions on political foundations none was apt to create an atmosphere of hatred and vengeance; not struggle between the races or of the Haves against the Have-Nots but enforced common efforts toward full desegregation was the great end.

An adequate, unbiased terminology and photo material were utilized in the Western books. They were geared with the goal to inform impartially. Eastern books, on the contrary, used set phrases and trite clichés again and again with highly emotional undertones of prejudice and hatred. Similar feelings were evoked by the illustrative materials which accompanied the texts. They strongly affected the viewers' feelings against pretended injustice and incapability of the ruling class.

The East German contributions on economic matters were all harshly critical of present conditions. Basing the socio-economic portrait of the United States on historic developments that were unleashed by the scientific-technological revolution, all Eastern books roundly denounced the capitalist system to the greatest conceivable extent. The principal allegation ran as follows: the scientific-technological revolution had brought an intensification of exploitation, increased uncertainty, reduced real income, accelerating unemployment rates, rising living costs and bad working

conditions to the working class of the United States. To support the allegation, all articles and statements in the East German textbooks were focused on this rationale. By and large, the East German publishers operated with inaccurate percentages and comparisons when portraying the general situation. They did not conduct fair comparative analyses to elucidate trends and discrepancies of standards in East and West. Dealing with detrimental material, however, the books produced most accurate data on strike days, gains of the employers and like facts.

By condemning everything the capitalist society had achieved, East German publishers produced a negative portrait of the United States in this area from which emerged a picture of a most decadent and frustrating bourgeois ruling class which consisted of the few who profited through merciless exploitation of the working class. Automation and the merging of big corporations into gigantic concentrations of capital only secured and even increased the profits of the employers. Automation for the workers in the United States meant increasing unemployment. While the net profits of employers had steadily increased, the workers' real wages had permanently fallen due to high inflation rates.

Having developed the friend-foe cliché, the need for radical change was established. The worker as the real victim of economic growth was encouraged to fight the enemy: the employers and the state machinery controlled by them. The call for intensified class struggle was repeatedly renewed.

A unified workers' front under the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. and "many trade unions" - except AFL-CIO - gave an example of how to defeat the class enemy. Thus the General Electric strike of 1969, which had ended successfully for the workers, was regarded as a model for further actions. Although the East German schoolbooks did not provide the necessary data, they contended that hopelessness among the American working class had already led to the rise of a grand alliance of all victims of monopoly. Futility and anxiety had promoted the Black liberation struggle, the student revolt, the tax revolt, the developing farm revolt and the revolt against all kinds of pollution.

Automation and technological progress as such could be most advantageous for mankind as could be seen in socialist countries. Here they guaranteed achievement because production was used for maximum public goods, while in capitalist countries production was abused for maximum profit of few employers. Therefore, the future for the United States working class depended on class struggle. The great issue was in whose hands power was to lie, and to what ends science would be used. The answer was furnished by the East German books. As socialist clichés showed, it was not the machines which dominated but those who owned them. According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the workers should own the means of production. Turning the power over into the hands of the people, expropriation, would pave the way toward socialism. The East German publishers therefore enthusiastically rejected the bourgeois theory of gradual convergence of the capitalist and

socialist systems without social differences and class struggle. Instead of convergence, radical change was to be brought about by an intensified class struggle, which justified the use of any means because the overthrow of capitalism was esteemed as a just and noble task.

Unemployment caused by monopoly-dominated automation affected youths severely due to the failure of the bourgeois educational system which did not prepare youth to cope with technological change. Although there was no need to doubt some of the alarming statistical data from this area, one missed any hint to the many serious and successful attempts that were undertaken to improve the educational situation. Thus an absolutely frustrating attitude was presented only to fit into the all-negative cliché.

Anti-American propaganda was expressed through the sketches of the United States aerospace research program. Communist German publishers praised the Soviet achievements and humanitarian motivation; at the same time, they defamed the American government by imputing the quest for knowledge to a mere striving for privilege and profit. This policy was promoted although "public opinion" claimed for drastic cuts in expensive research work. Since the books nowhere furnished more exact data on spendings for the American aerospace investigations, or on the percentage of sceptic citizens criticizing the expenditure, East German criticism must be defined as one-sided. A revealing comparison with the expenses by the U.S.S.R., related to failure and success, was not attempted. As could be seen with the improvements in

civil rights and the workers' real wages and social advancements, illustrating data were concealed by communist East German textbook authors. In this way, the actual social gap was used to portray exaggerated feelings of hatred between the classes and establish the need for a more aggressive class struggle. A very arbitrary selection of photos together with a strongly socialistically flavored diction furthered the development of anti-American feelings. In compliance with the communist educational guidelines, the pride of living in a socialist society was to be developed simultaneously.

All West German books used for this comparative analysis conformed on the notion that the people of the United States of America have always been a nonideological society. The national rejection of dogmatic preconceptions was said to be accepted by almost all Americans.

All the selected American self-expressions were geared to this concept. Without clashing ideologies, there was no need to liquidate one system by another. Although the contributions in West German schoolbooks originated from widely differing views expressing controversial political convictions and programs, they had all in common the concern to improve the economic conditions rather than to overcome them by violence. Thus the tone in most of the articles selected for a portrait of the United States economic matters was not aggressive but always adequate for the respective topic.

To portray typical economic processes in the United States economy, West German English language textbooks gave a high priority to the unsolved problems connected with work. The articles

emphasized the dilemma of any open society that, as opposed to socialist systems, results from the prohibition of interfering with free trade by the state. The problem of limited control explained the difficulty with instant intervention or change through the executive. The economic advancement of the American society had for many years been restricted to the white man. It was only in recent years that the socio economic conditions for large parts of the nonwhite population had also steadily increased. There remained much to be done to fully involve the underprivileged minorities in social progress, but due to the good-will of most of the people and in agreement with the constitutional requirements, the pace and scope of improvements had grown faster than ever before in the nation's history. Accurate statistical data proved the social gap between the Haves and the Have-Nots, but they also showed that the trend was obviously going to narrow this gap.

The greatest challenge to a democratic society at present resulted from automation. Its immanent conflict - low-price automated mass production versus growing unemployment - was seriously tackled without dogmatic preconceptions. There was no solution to the problem in sight although several approaches aimed at mitigating disadvantageous consequences. Automation was not solely an American phenomenon, and it was not due to ruthless exploitation by capitalist profiteers, but throughout the world it resulted in technological progress which decreased the number of vacancies. The articles in the West German books reflected a great spectrum of serious

attempts to reduce the unemployment rate and to improve the working conditions, particularly those of the assembly line worker. Human aspects of work that was to be done for external (material) reward and lacking inherent satisfaction for the individual were included. None of the different articles underestimated this deplorable side-effect of a highly automated economy, but it was only a small number of Americans who connected permanent dissatisfaction with the risk for open rebellion. It was generally accepted in the West German books that the Marxian capitalist was quietly disappearing as the exploited proletarian had since long vanished. Effective Antitrust Laws, the cooperative role of the trade unions and the workers themselves through their right to strike had influenced and accelerated the process. Capitalism was linked with democracy. This showed that excessively undemocratic policies of the big corporations could be prevented. Negative examples, as the exploiting foreign policy of the American Fruit Company had shown, could discredit the whole system. The dangers resulting from giant monopolies could not, in a free society, always be kept fully under control. The great majority of all powerful American corporations, however, were portrayed as private firms that had successfully undergone the change from one-man monopolies into firms collectively run by top management boards. In this sense American companies showed similarities with socialist collectives. Several large companies and top managers as well were characterized by their outstanding social achievements, donations and foundations.

The growth of economy in a free society largely depended on demand. It was of vital interest for capitalist trading to abolish poverty in order to win greater size markets. This knowledge, some books pointed out, was the driving-force for the capitalists' humanitarian efforts rather than philanthropy itself.

From the pictures drawn of the United States space policy one must arrive at the following main conclusions: the scientific-technological progress proved the outstanding capacities of the country's elite; scientific progress and enhanced knowledge in certain areas had not yet satisfactorily enough improved social conditions for those who were still in need; the intensified efforts of the federal government to cope with Russian aerospace achievements were also promoted by the struggle for prestige. This last aspect created many thousands of new vacancies which became superfluous as soon as a regressive development started. The educational institutions met the new needs by offering special courses in space science and so proved their flexibility. Yet eventually they trained too many scientists and skilled workers who were soon over-qualified because of fewer open positions. Other western, highly industrialized countries were also incapable of solving this problem satisfactorily.

From the contributions on essential issues in economic matters one could see that neither omissions nor quantifications of irrelevant aspects emerged. The analyses in the western books were highly differentiated and reflected the plurality of minds and convictions to a great extent.

Comparisons of the East and West German articles in this area showed that the two different economic concepts reflected very distinctly the antagonist socio-political structures. Automation with its related problems and space research were given priority in both book versions, but the conclusions made in East and West German textbooks were very different ones. Thus in the Eastern books the causes for unemployment were ascribed solely to capitalism's immanent class system in which a few monopolists exploited the working class for maximum profit. To support this notion, all portraits of the United States from this area were, for the greater part, negative. The principle of utilizing clichés instead of presenting accurate statistical data and diversified evidence was constantly applied. Together the contributions in this category therefore constituted a portrait of the United States that reflected deteriorating working and living conditions of the masses and drastically increasing gains of the imperialist monopoly capitalists. Because of the aggressive aims of the American finance oligarchy, the threat to mankind was to be met by world-wide international proletarianism.

As the selections in East German language textbooks corroborated continually, negative features were skilfully linked to establish ultimate inferiority of bourgeois society. In doing so, the requirements of state guidelines for an arbitrary, ideological argumentation were fulfilled.

West German authors, on the other hand, did not select their authentic text materials to prove or disprove dogmas

but informed, explained and analyzed crucial issues. American authors were presented who, believing in their own strength, did not shrink from criticizing actual conditions. Anger and self-criticism were used to give a fresh impetus to overcome grievances. They expressed confidence in their own system which they knew was far from being perfect. But they were also convinced that there was no better alternative.

Dealing with social problems, East German materials focused on class struggle and revolution. Each contribution was, in one way or another, homogeneously geared with one aspect of these paramount ends. The need for revolt was systematically established throughout the different grades of English language books. As could be seen previously, the only English textbook series compiled for the East German unified school decisively facilitated the selection of topics, their interpretation and distribution over the seven books. The method utilized for the presentation of social matters was similar to practices shown in the other main categories of this thesis. In general, it was by allegation that the need for rebellion was created. They were occasionally supplemented by evidence which always suggested negative effects. Typical allegations used in this category were the following ones: not all people are treated equally in the United States; most Blacks are poor, and, compared to white workers, two to three times more often unemployed; the Blacks' only right is to fight and be killed in dirty wars they do not want; education in the United States is not good; racialists and "Kukluxers" threaten the Black population; supporters of

the civil rights movement are persecuted; the police do not help the Blacks; fascist terror in the United States can be defeated if all workers fight "united."

Each of the averments could be proved or disproved by applying the appropriate criteria. East German publishers persistently collected material which substantiated only negative findings; in a number of cases, they did not even furnish negative facts, or they generalized exaggerated incidents and claimed unrestricted validity. All this was done legally and according to state guidelines which explicitly vindicated this procedure as conforming to the objectives of socialist class conscience.

A few examples from the aforementioned allegations should illustrate communist teaching doctrines.

The principle of all men being equal was not satisfactorily regarded in the United States. Few single deplorable examples, like the one of the Black taxi-driver in Washington, furnished the evidence. Education was said to be bad, for Blacks it was even worse. This could be proved easily by accurate data. However, facts and figures documenting progress in this area were concealed to the East German students so as to sustain the negative cliché of the United States. The statement that the Blacks' only right was to fight and be killed was not at all substantiated. It must therefore be regarded as a biased allegation. The higher unemployment rate of the Blacks was proved accurately, although the latest trends were not revealed showing advancements in this matter.

Police terror and the Ku Klux Klan menaces were documented

by photos with emotional captions. They aroused disgust with the viewer. The accompanying texts only portrayed one-sided aspects of the situation. The reader was not informed about the other relevant details of the incident.

Eastern schoolbooks deliberately yielded priority to Blacks and youth when featuring the United States. This principle was enforced by state guidelines which demanded to focus on class struggle and its effects. As racial discrimination was suspected to be raison d'état, the long oppressed Negro was developed into a symbolic figure that had become a defenseless victim of bourgeoisie. Youth was another powerful minority that was already on the move after having realized the need to fight for liberation and progress. Blacks and youths were the cornerstones of a Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of the American society. Their discontent was regarded as the driving-force in an organized struggle against racism and Black oppression. To weaken class solidarity, the whites were being played off against the Blacks by the capitalists. Of utmost importance was, therefore, the endeavor to restore class solidarity of all workers. Only a united youth and worker front could win the struggle for progress and liberation.

Remarkably, the acknowledged civil rights leaders were not incorporated in the liberation movement. It was supported by "progressive" forces only, i.e., the communists. Martin Luther King's doctrine of nonviolence, his undogmatic program of Christian brotherhood and the well organized peaceful protest marches did not fit into militant communist concepts.

This alternative to the Black man's liberation, which was actively supported by increasing numbers of Americans, was concealed from East German students. Outdated clichés of so-called fascist terror, segregation in schools and in public transport, discrimination and persecution of civil rights sympathizers were presented instead. Thus the oppressed Blacks had no choice but to seek alliance with their exploited white fellow countrymen to carry the common fight for basic civil rights to final victory.

Having so delineated the United States as a country of discrimination and social insecurity, which also affected women, the contradiction of economic inequality and political freedom became obvious. The antagonism could only be resolved by a socialist revolution. Examples of the country's history illustrated the workers' resistance against exploitation and unworthy living conditions, police brutality and class (in) justice. The misanthropic feature of capitalism was drastically revealed by the anti-strike laws. With reference to strike, communist textbooks praised the workers' perseverance in some great strikes (General Electric, 1969); on the other hand, the so-called anti-strike laws gave the impression that the American workers were principally deprived of the basic right to strike. This contradiction must be seen in light of the fact that socialist societies deny their workers the right to strike.

The culture of the United States was said to be in a deep crisis due to commercialization by capitalist profiteers. The East German books only referred to what they called pseudo-

cultural and unmoral, which had obviously spoiled youth and increased crime. The immense production of valuable and well selling works of art that filled the theaters and the bookstalls were simply ignored. The only alternatives to so-called pseudo-culture were the works of Black and "progressive" authors which made art a weapon in the class struggle. In this way, the working class had started to develop a new cultural tradition. It aimed at advancing the call for freedom and class struggle. The C.P.U.S.A. had taken the lead. By this means, the impression of a socialist art as the prevailing and widely accepted modern form was suggested. The topics of literature, drama, poetry and song were all very similar: they hailed the doctrine of peace and predicted the superiority and final victory of socialism over capitalism for more justice, equality and wealth for all. The worker and peace song in particular were portrayed as enhancing the zeal to fight against racism and the ruling class. Contrastive samples from popular, generally accepted and appreciated forms of "bourgeois" art were not at all regarded.

All features of the developed portrait constituted an image of the United States which showed a myriad of social, economic and racial problems which the bourgeois society was unable to solve. Moreover, the ruling class was suspected of preserving or even widening the socio-racial gap.

This picture did not at all conform to the image of the country that was generally accepted in the western world. The contributions in the East German books related to this area were one-sided because they all originated from extremely

leftist sources. Different or contrary statements and views were not included. The selection of topics and aspects in this category was biased, anti-American and prejudiced against everything that was not socialist. An aggressive terminology and emotive illustrations enforced the feelings of hostility against the "non-working class."

The text analyses of West German book contents in terms of social problems showed a high degree of uniformity with regard to the quantification of main topics. At the same time, however, the diversified contributions reflected highly differentiated treatments of single items. Western authors' main concern focused on nominal equality and de facto discrimination in political and socio-economic affairs of the United States.

All books examined arrived at the conclusion that the state of ethnic minorities and underprivileged whites was improving constantly but that there remained much to be done to realize full civil rights and more social justice for all. The progress many millions of Americans had undergone in the two decades after the historic Supreme Court ruling of 1954 was highly esteemed and documented by accurate figures and unbiased analyses. Statistical data showed that nearly fifty per cent of the Blacks had already entered the middle class. The trend to narrow the social gap was verified by external and internal evidence: the government had paved the legal grounds to eliminate existing unconstitutional impediments, and an increasing majority of white citizens had started to support the civil rights movement. The surge into the middle

class was not confined to socio-economic advancement, but had begun to affect educational inefficiencies also. Although West German schoolbooks touched upon structural problems in general terms only, the selected articles on educational problems constituted a portrait of extreme discrepancies in the United States education. Consequently, the gap between progress and discrimination was treated with priority by West German authors. Competent Americans were repeatedly quoted for situative analyses. King, for instance, had confirmed gradual economic improvement and new possibilities for educational advancement. The outlawing of segregation in the public schools, which had brought an end tc enforced discrimination, was regarded as the climax in the process of racial integration and national reconciliation. The Blacks' lasting dissatisfaction, according to King, therefore, mainly resulted from unemployment rather than from poor education. Carmichael, however, saw social dynamite in the class of unemployed and frustrated Black youth. He blamed the white man as the responsible individual for the vicious circle of segregated neighborhoods, bad schooling and poor education, which in turn led to ill-paying jobs. While King strongly renounced nonviolence, Carmichael and other radical Black leaders fanatically aimed at shaking the country's economy to end capitalistic exploitation and to liberate the ghettos. King acknowledged symptoms that showed that the old system of exploitation and oppression was already beginning to disappear. The two opposite Black wings unanimously called for proper representation of the racial minorities. Neither one

wanted to take over. In this sense, Black power was not racism in reverse. This explained why international communism did not support the doctrines of the great Black leaders who aimed at reforms rather than revolution and takeover by violence. Western schoolbooks portrayed the American Blacks and other minorities struggling with the problems of unemployment, broken homes, menial jobs and unequal educational opportunities. But the books also reviewed that progress of the Blacks since 1860 which was due to steady constitutional amendments. The stipulation of equal rights by no means solved the Black problem in society. Social and economic discrepancies according to racial inequality were continuing to decrease, as West German books had documented by accurate statistical data. Because economic progress and social advancement of the Black American were being acknowledged by all men of good-will, there was no need to call for militant class struggle and hatred. Thus the premises for a Marxist-Leninist civil war no longer existed in the United States. Consequently, the riots of minority groups during the 1960's resulted in foundations of nondogmatic movements that reflected American mentality in a most typical way: they were all free of dogmatic preconception. For instance, the civil rights movement and Women's Lib were both a state of mind rather than a well structured organization. The American nation, regardless of color and social rank, was portrayed as a nonideological society. Even its extreme concepts contained no similarities with the communist doctrine of a militant class struggle and victory over dissenting groups by defeat. Evolution rather than revolution

was regarded as the driving-force in the process toward more justice and welfare for all.

As discrimination was not confined to ethnic minorities alone, the Blacks' demands were occasionally interpreted as the voice of the submerged fifth of the American nation, which also included many white citizens. Protest marches and non-violent demonstrations could be defined as the first rumblings of the underclass. This unrest recruited from those poor people who were living in urban ghettos. Unworthy conditions there were not the fault of the slum dwellers but were due to unscrupulous white landlords and the government that did not end exploitation and usury. Causes and effects of migration into the city centers were thoroughly analyzed in West German books. As the cities were disintegrating under the impact of migration into Black central ghettos ringed by exclusively white suburbs, the process of racial integration might be jeopardized. The plight of the cities was also aggravated by reduced revenues and fewer vacancies which in turn increased urban crime. Delinquency thus became an anti-social preoccupation with self-preservation. Differing from East German interpretations, Western authors suspected that urban crime might be boiling down not to race riots but to war between the Haves and the Have-Nots. The fittest would then survive.

Contrary to Eastern views, the leading American trade unions were not sketched in West German books as organizations to help the capitalists divide the working class according to races. Recent anti-discrimination programs of

AFL-CIO had brought about change in the minds of many white unionists. For the first time, nonwhites were integrated in the unions. The minorities' struggle for recognition was rewarded.

The United States' international commitments abroad were just seen as a striving for prestige and imperialist ends. According to the American concept of democracy and freedom, the nation had always granted military and economic aid to those in need. Eastern authors defamed the United States for world-wide aggressive aims, while Western schoolbooks pointed out that West Germany's economic rehabilitation after 1945 was decisively influenced by financial help through the United States of America.

English language textbooks published in West Germany for the use at the Gymnasium did not, in general, portray "the typical American family" according to clichés.

Most books tried instead to elucidate important features of the American society in the 1970's. Summarizing the characterizations, one seemed to accept hedonism as the guiding philosophy of life for a great many Americans who sought possessions. The live-for-the-moment spirit was hailed by many citizens who enjoyed the advantages of living in a society of affluence.

The momentous influence of all mass media on public opinion, and on youth in particular, in connection with the crucial problem of control in a free society, was intensively treated in the western books. Differing from Eastern publications, they unanimously agreed on the absolute independence

of a free press that could neither be controlled nor manipulated by political institutions.

The portrait of cultural life and related achievements in the United States was reflected by an unlimited selection of examples from various areas. Emphasis was placed on those works that mirrored the poets' yearning for more humanity. But none of the examples given in the western books suggested dogmatic traits of aggression, nor did they favor the militant struggle of races or classes. In this way, jazz as the Negroes' most significant contribution to American culture only reflected his personal rebellion and his longing for freedom. Through the rhythms of jazz the Black man expressed the frustrated anger of the underprivileged. Themes and diction of songs were not part of a programmatic Black power movement. They were to be understood as an esthetic expression of his suffering beyond all ideology and dogma. It was only the communist East German schoolbooks that associated the cry for racial liberation of the ethnic minorities with demands for militant class struggle and takeover by the "working class."

Ben Shan, the painter, was introduced as a typical representative of a direction that combined social and political realism in its works. Although he could be labeled progressive, Shan did not aim at expressing socialist realism to glorify communist achievements. The appreciation of Shan's work by western authors was indirectly confirmed by East German schoolbook writers: they simply ignored him, which was obviously due to the fact that he was not "progressive" enough

to function as a model of socialist art made in the United States.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A summary of this research and its findings should proceed from the problems and subproblems as they were described in Chapter 1 of the dissertation. The main problem emerged from the historic development in Germany after 1945: the free part and the Soviet occupied communist section of the country had developed into divergent directions. The partition of the country thrust upon the indivisible German nation against its will had established two opposite political, social and economic systems. It was suspected that the discrepancies would also affect the educational goals of the two German states. This became obvious by comparing the mandated guidelines. Personal experiences in both parts of the country had corroborated the antagonistic ends in the two educational concepts as they were spelled out in the respective curricula. An intensive study of the language program furnished the evidence that the teaching of English as a foreign language was aimed at entirely different ends. Excerpts from the West and East German guidelines documented fundamental differences in the pedagogical intentions of teaching English as a foreign language at the Gymnasium. With regard to contents concerning the United States of America, english language textbooks for West German students intended to improve the language

proficiency in order to develop a better understanding for the cultural achievements and the way of life of the American people. This should be achieved on the basis of well balanced information and by critical analyses of different American self-expressions.

East German guidelines, on the contrary, mandated that all book contents must focus on class struggle according to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Dealing with the United States, the selected instructional materials, therefore, all constituted a friend-foe cliché that showed the American working class being exploited by a small minority of monopoly capitalists. The teaching materials had to emphasize the leading role of the Communist Party of the United States of America in the battle for a better future for all men. The fight for peace and social progress of all "progressive" Americans was actively supported world-wide by proletarian internationalism. The analysis of present conditions in the United States was to be conducted in closest compliance with the principle of socialist partiality and personal bias against "imperialism."

The discrepancies in the two concepts for English language instruction were disclosed in this way. The image of the United States was obviously portrayed differently in the two German states. The intended comparison of East and West German language textbooks could therefore focus on the criteria that were applied to the selection of topics and the illustrations of life in the United States.

Before the main problem was subdivided, an intensive check was conducted on the validity of the selected textbooks.

Only recent instructional materials which had been state adopted were regarded. All East and West German materials used for the comparison were authorized teaching media. They could therefore be considered as representative of the respective school system.

To better identify the different treatments of the image of the United States, it was necessary to differentiate the procedure for the comparison into four subproblems.

The first subproblem was directed toward the identification and categorization of situations in the various book materials which had served the East and West German publishers for the illustration of life in the United States. For this purpose, those western books which had the largest circulation in the Federal Republic and West Berlin were selected. As far as East Germany was concerned, English for You, a series of textbooks from level one to seven, was to be used exclusively at the communist unified school. A comparison of book contents showed that the selection of topics in East German English language textbooks was very much smaller than the choice of subjects contained in the West German books. Consequently, a direct comparison of similar situations could not always be conducted. Having identified all relevant situations and contributions in both types of books, it was decided to categorize the material into the following three main divisions:

Political Foundations
Economic Matters
Social Problems

All data were first collected and then allocated to the respective main division according to their origin: the Eastern material was placed first, followed by the western.

After having satisfied subproblem number one in this way, the development of criteria for the text analyses was to be undertaken next. Subproblem number two specified two sets of criteria: situative criteria were to provide external evidence about the presentation and description of a situation; the criteria for content analysis were to elucidate internal evidence.

The application of these criteria helped to ascertain the nature of the portrait of life in the United States, which was implemented in subproblem number three.

Finally, the so emerged similarities and discrepancies in the Eastern and western portraits were to be identified, compared and explained (subproblem number four). The quantification or omission of certain topics and feacures permitted inferences in terms of the ideological intent.

The conclusions that were to be drawn next were based on the findings presented in the preceding chapter. As was suspected, East and West German schoolbook publishers portrayed the function of political foundations, economic matters and social concepts in the United States entirely differently. They did so in compliance with their respective state guidelines. The only similarity that emerged in the comparison was an agreement upon the increased need for learning English not only for enhanced language competence but for the sake of an improved appreciation of foreign achievements. The methods

utilized to arrive at these ends showed striking discrepancies. West German textbook publishers preferred self-expressions of American authorities of different races, political stands and social backgrounds for the portraits of their achievements and troubles. Communist East German schoolbook authors, on the contrary, abused the didactic aims to make anti-American, pro-communist propaganda. According to practiced Marxist-Leninist doctrines, they defamed the class enemy to create a need for revolution and takeover by communists. They established an intransigent friend-foe cliché. Everybody who happened not to be "progressive," i.e., a convinced and active communist, was declared a class enemy. An arbitrary choice of topics and interpretations constituted a portrait of public life in the United States that called for intensified class struggle and open rebellion. The personified victim of "misanthropic capitalism," "class justice" and "fascist police terror" was the defenseless Black American. He and several millions of white workers belonged to the so-called underclass that had so far longed in vain for freedom and social equality. Socialist solidarity had increased world-wide to strengthen the bonds of proletarian brotherhood with the exploited American underprivileged citizens. At the same time, a utopian picture of living and working conditions under socialism was suggested to the East German student. The superiority of a socialist system was continually accented by a plethora of set phrases and clichés.

East German publishers emphasized the preeminent role of certain incidents in the long and successful American worker

tradition. Great strikes and brutally suppressed protest marches were considered to be tokens of successful resistance of the working class. American worker leaders and artists were highly thought of as martyrs for progressive youth. As in East German schools,

> ... the revolutionary traditions are to be cultivated to a greater extent than so far. Traditionalism must be utilized to communicate to the students a vivid picture of the struggles of the German and international working class in the past. The cultivation of tradition enables the students to develop genuine roots of a class consciousness by which they can personify the friend-foe image.[1]

The confidence of the communists in a positive feed-back of the masses to the plethora of stereotype dogmatic indoctrination was obviously not too great. Even excessive quantifications of trite phrases and good-evil clichés to a surfeit had not evoked the hoped-for response among the working class abroad and in the own country. East German educators seemed to be well aware of the reasons for the inefficiency of their ideological indoctrination, as was recently insinuated by some of East Germany's leading experts:

> Experts of the GDR academy for pedagogical sciences have advocated plans ... for a modification and specification of communist education in the schools of the GDR. They expressed ...

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[1] Deutsche Lehrerzeitung [Berlin/East], reprinted in "Der Tagesspiegel" [West Berlin newspaper], November 10, 1977:
An den Schulen der DDR sollen ... in noch stärkerem MaBe als bisher revolutionäre Traditionen gepflegt werden. Die Traditionspflege müsse dazu genutzt werden, den Schülern ein lebendiges Bild von den Kämpfen der deutschen und internationalen Arbeiterklasse in der Vergangenheit zu vermitteln. Sie schaffe Möglichkeiten, daB die Schüler durch Personifizierung des Freund-Feind-Bildes echte Wurzeln eines KlassenbewuBtseins entwickeln.

> their dissatisfaction with the efficiency of communist education which rigidly aligns the young generation to the dominant ideology. The philologists criticized education at present as being pursued too partially ....[1]

According to stringent mandatory regulations in East Germany, the selection and interpretation of topics were to match the principles of socialist partiality and bias. Consequently, all contributions found in the East German English language textbooks portrayed the United States negatively. This was achieved by presenting detrimental material, or by one-sided interpretations, or by omitting contrary viewpoints. An aggressive terminology and skilfully scattered photos reinforced the development of anti-American feelings and were meant to enhance international solidarity with the oppressed American working class.

The friend-foe clichés developed in this way obviously did not fit any longer to those notions of the United States which East German youths had developed under the influence of West German television and through personal talks with their fellow countrymen from the free part of the country. The clashing contrast between the unrealistic portrait of the United States based exclusively on socialist clichés, and the

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[1]Pädagogik [Berlin/East], reprinted in "Der Tagesspiegel" [ibid.], September 14, 1977:
Für eine Modifizierung und Präzisierung der kommunistischen Erziehung in den Schulen der DDR haben sich Mitarbeiter der DDR-Akademie der pädagogischen Wissenschaften ... ausgesprochen. Sie äußerten dabei ... ihre Unzufriedenheit über die Wirksamkeit der kommunistischen Erziehung, die auf die völlige Ausrichtung der jungen Generation auf die herrschende Ideologie gerichtet ist. Die Wissenschaftler kritisierten unter anderem, daß gegenwärtig die kommunistische Erziehung zu einseitig betrieben werde....

country as it really was, must have encouraged bold East German functionaries to cautiously express ideas about adjusting the outdated image of the United States of America. Error and untruth in depicting the country seemed to have increased in such a way that even experienced Marxist-Leninist dialecticians could no longer answer probing questions of East German students satisfactorily. The hoped-for radicalization of the civil rights and communist youth movements, of militant strikes and class confrontations organized by "progressive" trade unions and of stiffened racial, social and educational conflicts had evidently failed to materialize. Nor could the communists present facts which illustrated advancement in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. Although a basic change in the judgment of the United States by East German ideologists is not likely to take place, it is conceivable that tactical corrections on the periphery of the portrait might be undertaken to gain more topicality.

Another salient discrepancy emerged in reviewing the findings. West German authors portrayed the United States through a diversity of contributions with often extremely opposing tendencies. The end was obvious: factual instruction, together with the necessary explanations, should enable the student to draw his own conclusions. The result was an image of the United States that could differ considerably according to individual evaluations. East German students, on the contrary, were required to accept the socialist version of the United States. People were not provided with unprejudiced data since they were not supposed to conduct

comparative analyses unbiasedly and to arrive at dissenting results.

The absence of a free press in East Germany enabled the communist regime to suppress undesirable news that might jeopardize their educational concept. Therefore Eastern English language textbooks generally did not reflect recent trends and changes. The missing flexibility gravely lowered the standard of information. It was far beneath the level found in the West German English books.

The fact that socialist systems have often proved to be inferior to capitalist societies might have stimulated East German communists to their aggressive criticism of the United States. They principally made Americans and citizens of other noncommunist countries their political enemies being well aware that the so-called capitalist system was much more favored by most Germans in both the East and the West than was their own. All political dissidents were to be defamed. Police state methods of totalitarian systems were ascribed to democratic governments that were freely elected by a free society. Grotesque horror portraits of the United States obviously had not sufficiently affected East German youths to develop an intensified form of anti-American aggression; nor could they divert attention from the communists' problems in their own orbit of power.

It could not be regarded as a sign of inner strength and confidence when dissident views were consistently ignored according to the motto: what must not be, cannot be. Only East German publishers richly paid homage to this principle when,

for instance, they did not refer to nonsocialist artists, writers and civil rights leaders of paramount importance. Nor did they grant the political opponent a chance to voice his views. With apodictic determination they assumed the right for themselves to thrust communist socialism upon the American nation. To vindicate this imperialist claim, East German English books established a need for takeover by libeling its freely elected leaders, democratic institutions and big corporations by means of false or distorted portraits of actual conditions.

Comparing the findings of all textbook analyses, the following points which seemed to be the basis of the dilemma of today's English language textbook, be it in West Germany or in East Germany, emerged: in both parts of the divided country, the primacy of mutual noninterference was uncomprisingly recognized. According to the state guidelines in East and West and to generally accepted findings about the particular role of the textbook in the teaching-learning process, textbooks and instructional media were of paramount importance for the instruction of foreign languages. The exact nature of the role that those materials play in educational processes is unclear, as was previously stated in this dissertation.

Due to the central position of the book during long phases of the learning process, four recommendations for further research in the field should be included. Future textbooks would have to meet at least the following criteria:

1. To arrive at more reliable data, the particular role of the textbook as a tool for portraying the U.S.A. has yet

to be fully explored.

2. A comparative analysis of the United States' and the West German educational concepts should be conducted to ascertain elements for mutual integration.
3. The role of the United States literature at the upper level of the Gymnasium and the West German students' preference for certain American authors should be analyzed to emerge criteria for further curricula.
4. Increased teacher motivation through an effective teacher's manual which presents additional information as well as didactic and methodological analysis.

Recommendations for actions would have to meet the following criteria:

1. A regular exchange of all English language media between the two German educational systems should be executed. A first step could be to make single copies available as specimens to book examiners.
2. Greater issues should reflect a contrary contribution from the opposing German system.
3. Teachers from the West should be allowed to conduct unimpeded classroom research at East German educational institutions.
4. Researchers and East Germans alike must be allowed a free exchange of ideas.
5. Through official representatives in East Berlin, the United States should exert greater influence on German authorities to readjust the negative image of the United States of America in East German schoolbooks.

As described in previous paragraphs of this thesis (cf. Limitations, Delimitations, Subproblem 4), it was considered important to include in this analysis the subjective verdict of those West Berlin students who had worked with the English language programs over several years.

For this purpose, fifty male and female students of the Gymnasiale Oberstufe of two different Gymnasien in West Berlin were involved in a check on text identification. This text analysis was aimed at measuring the students' ability to identify an unknown text and to draw their own conclusions. From the inferences they would make should emerge criteria which could be applied to many other youths of the same age in both parts of the divided country.

The stratification of the fifty students selected for the check showed identities in terms of age and academic aptitude: all of them were seventeen to eighteen years old, and most had taken at least six years of English at school. The majority of these students descended from the wealthy middle and upper middle classes. For the most part, their attitude toward school and learning was positive. As they belonged to heterogeneously constituted groups, dispersion of political convictions could be assumed. They were all experienced in conducting a text analysis. The text was taken from an East German English language textbook. The opinionnaire was developed by the writer. (Cf. Appendix D).

Not knowing the source of the publication, the West Berlin students were asked to focus on:

a) the source ("Find clues for the source of the text")

b) criteria to determine the accuracy of the contents involved ("I find the text objective/biased; give evidence").

The evaluation of the check showed the following results:

a) The source was identified correctly by 36 students; the remaining 14 were not sure whether the text was written by extreme western liberals or by communist authors.

b) 45 students found the text biased; only 5 objective.

The result published under a) revealed the relatively great number of fourteen students who were not certain about the source. This could be explained by the fact that the selected communist text contained a goodly moderate terminology. Moreover, similar contents were also occasionally presented by Western schoolbooks to reflect extreme viewpoints.

The findings from this criterion reference check collected under b) showed that 90% (45 out of 50 students) identified this text as inaccurate and biased against the United States. This result corroborated the previously made assumption that the English language training offered by West German Gymnasien enabled students to recognize and ascertain prejudice and partiality toward the image of the United States.

On the basis of these data, it could also be expected that East German students would arrive at similar results if they were permitted to use western sources of information officially and regularly. Under these circumstances, they can be presumed for the most part to dissent from the official cliché that is being forced upon them and that was reflected

in the teacher's manual as follows (abridged):

> If you hear the words "The United States of America," what do these words mean to you? - a big country; capital - Washington; biggest city - New York; skyscrapers; banks, rich people (millionaires); slums, many poor people, especially Black people; racial discrimination; fight for equality; fight for civil rights; many workers without jobs; dirty war against Vietnam....
>
> What is America to an American worker or an American who likes his people? ... is it a certain word "Democracy?"
> - No, for him America is the house he lives in, the friends he has found....
> To him America is ... the simple soap box, to him America is the torch of liberty....[1]

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[1]Ewald Pestag und Lothar Pohl, Unterrichtshilfen zu English for you 4 (3. Auflage; Ausgabe 1969; Berlin/East: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1974), p. 92.

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